THE GREEN TITAN

A STUDY OF
QUAID-I-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINAH



mmad Saeed

THE GREEN TITAN

A STUDY OF QUAID-I-AZAM
MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

by
Ahmad Saeed

SANG-E-MEEL PUBLICATIONS
Chowk Urdu Bazar. — LAHORE

Price 25.00

Dec. 25 1976

Printed by Manzoor Ahmad at Manzoor Printing Press,
Lahore and Published by Niaz Ahmed
Sangemeel Publications, Lahore.

CONTENTS

FOREWARD

This year the nation celebrates the Quaid-e-Azam's Centenary. The Government has, therefore, rightly set up the Quaid-e-Azam Academy for conducting research on his life and achievements and bringing out hitherto unpublished material connected with them. That an authentic official biography of the Father of the Nation is being prepared by the Academy this year would be but in the fitness of things.

Writing the biography of a great figure is a challenging task for it calls for historico-political objectivity in the case of a personality like the Quaid's, its imaginative depiction and evocation of the age and atmosphere in which he lived. Going by the works of great biographers like, novelistic Emil Ludwig or Harold Lamb and others, it may well make a novel-like reading : racy, gripping, moving, convincing —a life-size portrait. Therefore we must study the Quaid's life and statements again and again and now, more than ever, seek inspiration from his incorruptible mind and character and far-seeing vision of an ideal Pakistan.

The art of biography, unfortunately, has not yet taken roots here as it is western. That is why, years ago, Hector Bolitho, an English biographer, was

commissioned by the Government to write an official biography of the Quaid. Despite the superficial and unconvincing protests against it, Bolitho's mental inhibitions, limitations and inaccessibility of relevent source-material, he made a good of job it as a mercenary. He hunted out and met the Quaid's leading living contemporaries incorporating their impressions in his all-round portrait. Even then it makes an arresting reading, though lacking, naturally, in the passions and vision of a national biographer who identifies himself completely with his subject. A number of biographies of the Quaid have appeared after it, written by some of his close associates. Yet, inspite of their warmth and even mass of material of historical nature, M.A. Isphani's and G Allana's respectively, the Quaid awaits a titanic biogropher.

Therefore the present attempt is nothing but a most humble and thumb-nailish one. Five short biographical studies, among others, of history-making heroes, like Abdus Rehman I and Tipu Sultan, led me to the present undertaking. It was primarily inspired by my respected friend, that eminent historian, Prof. Dr. Abdul Hamid, who successively served as Head of History Departments of the local Govt. College and Punjab University, his last assignment after retirement being Director, Publications, Punjab Text-Book Board.

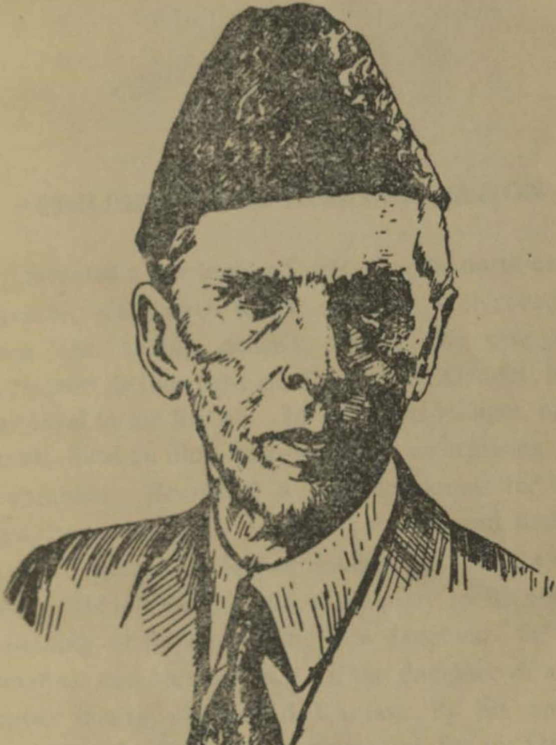
In this biography I have, as far as possible, given all the key-points, the major events and battles in the triangular political struggle in the modern Indian War of Liberation involving the British, the Congress and the Muslim League. An objective study of the entire movement brings into sharp focus the singular role of M.A. Jinnah in it ; he stands out as a colossus in it. A number of short biographies of the Quaid are available in the market now. To what extent this one is distinct from others, only the reader can tell. For my part, I feel I have not failed in describing the life and personality of the Quaid, and the historically determined Pakistan Movement under him till its achievement and his death.

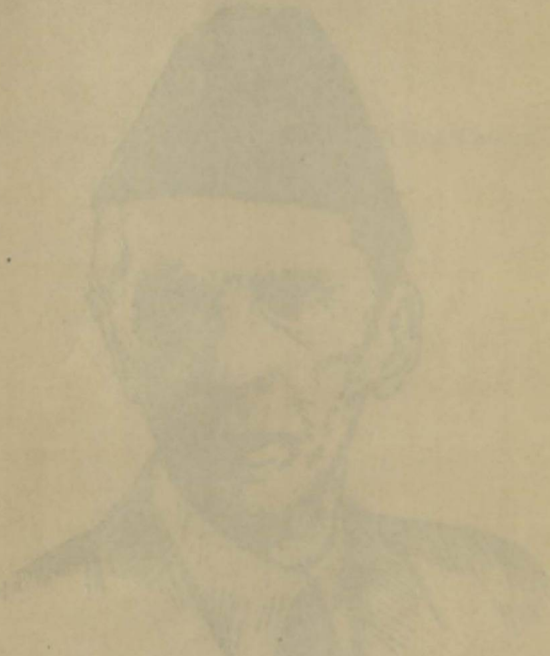
It was never meant to be a flamboyant venture, aimed as it was at the younger generation. Hence, helped by a life-time of teaching, clarity, raciness and simplicity of style, viewing both personality and history as intextricable forces, I made this modest attempt. I hope it will appeal to every class of readers and inspire me to write one day, given an opportunity and life, a full-blooded, life-size portrait of the Quaid.

In the end I must also express my thanks to the following : (1) Seema Saeed, (now Mrs. Riaz) my daughter, for making out a fare copy of the script : (2) Mr. Azam Khan, a veteran steno-typist of the

Punjab Provincial Assembly, for his inspired and fastidious typed script; and (3) Prof. Shams-ud-Din, Head of History Deptt., F.C. College, Lahore, for his thorough study of the typed script and cirtical appreciaion.

47-J, Model Town, Lahore — Ahmad Saeed





I

CHILDHOOD AND EARLY EDUCATION

Situated a few hundred miles to the north-east of Karachi, Kathiawar sticks out like a clenched fist from the Indian coast. Around the year 1857, Kathiawar included the small state of Gondal, which was loyal to the British. In one of its villages, named Paneli, lived an old, hard-working, enterprising man, Poonjabhai. He owned a few hand-looms for weaving cotton cloth. He worked honestly and tirelessly so that he earned a lot of money and respect of his people. He left a good deal of property to his children consisting of three sons and one daughter. Of these, Jinnabhai had been married to the daughter of a well-known family of Ismaili Khojas. By his amazing capabilities he was to blaze a new trail for his family.

Jinnabhai had a matchless business sense, a keen desire to rise higher and higher in the world and do new things. That is why he did not find enough scope

in either the villages of his area or even in Gondal. He wanted to go far afield : Karachi and Bombay were two cities in which he could fulfil his dreams. For, compared with Bombay, Karachi was a small port-city. It had a population of 50000 people in those days. It was mainly a fish-trade centre. Besides, it was the biggest trading-centre south-west of Gondal, and the only port for the export of goods from north-western India—present West Pakistan. It attracted traders from Gujrat, Kathiawar and Cutch. Yet most of the houses of Karachi were made of mud, and its streets were small.

Jinnabhai's Choice :

And to Karachi Jinnabhai chose to migrate. He had a very sound business experience and understanding. Whatever trade he entered, he soon made his mark in it. Moreover, due to his self-confidence, Jinnabhi began to make a fortune. Though he had not had regular education, he had a desire to learn English. In the course of his contacts with British trading companies he picked up working knowledge of English from them. These companies carried on export of the produce of Sind, Baluchistan and the Punjab to England, Europe and the Far East. Graham Shipping and Trading Company was one of the leading-most of these. It was destined to bring about a revolution in Jinnabhai and his family's life. In the

first place, by his dealings with this firm he became rich. Secondly, it turned out to be the means of bringing undreamt-of luck to the first-born of Jinnabhai.

Birth of Mohammad Ali :

On 25th December, 1876 Jinnabhai got a lean and lanky child, who was named Mohammad Ali. Though three more sons and three daughters, including Fatima and Shireen, were born to his mother later, Mohammad Ali remained her most beloved one. Her inner voice had told her that he was going to be a man of destiny : one day he would be a big man !

When Mohammad Ali was hardly one month old, his mother persuaded his father to take her, along with the baby, to Ganod. There she wished to get him bleassings at the *shrine* of Hassan Pir. This famous saint is believed to have possessed wonderful spiritual powers. Long ago, he had wended his way into the lands of Sind as a missionery and was buried at Ganod ofter his death. As before, his *urs* is held there every year. He continues to enjoy a large following of both Muslims and non-Muslims upto this day.

Mohammad Ali's Boyhood :

Mohammad Ali grew up in his family which led a simple and modest life : though it was quite a wealthy family, it did not live in style, rather ate and

dressed like humble people. Mohmmad Ali's parents did not put him in school until he was nine years old. For the nearest school was too far from their house so that the young boy could not go there and come back home daily on foot. However, his father engaged him a tutor to teach him Gujrati at home. Though intelligent, young Mohammad Ali was more fond of play than studies. But, even at play, he stood out for being very clean and smart, and was looked upon as their leader by his play-mates. He liked cricket most among other games like *guli danda*, tops and marbles, that were popular in the general run of boys. Mohammad Ali preferred to play cricket because in it one does not soil oneself with dust.

Changing schools :

At the age of nine his parents put him in school. But they had to shift him to another because they wanted to separate him from his playful class-fellows. Never-the-less the play-ground attracted Mohammad Ali more than the clase-room of the historic Sind Madressah, Karachi, where he now studied. For some unknown reason his parents sent him to Bombay to carry on education there. But after about four months Mohammad Ali returned from there and rejoined the Sind Madressah. Now he settled down there. His School Register shows that he, Mohammad Ali Jinnabhoy, left it for good after a stay of four and a half years including the period of his brief absence.

At the time of his leaving the school in 1892 he had passed all his examinations without failing in any class. It is interesting to note that his final name was now settled as Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Jinnah being his surname—that of his father.

By then Jinnabhai, Mohammad Ali's father, had grown pretty wealthy. He now owned many carriages and beautiful horses. Young Mohammad Ali found a new fascinating sport in them. For he was charmed by the beauty, energy and speed of the horse. So, along with one school friend of his, Karim Bhai, he would daily go on a horse-ride in the evening, school in the morning, riding in the evening.

As he paid too much attention to games and sports, his father got worried about him. For he earnestly wished that his eldest son, now sixteen years old, would finish his education and become his helping hand in running his heavy business. To this end he sought the advice of Fredrick Leigh Croft.

Historic Advice :

Fredrick Leigh Croft was the General Manager of Grahams Shipping and Trading Company through which Jinnabhai exported goods to foreign countries. Fredrick advised him to send Mohammad Ali to London. What for? None of them knew. Perhaps

Leigh Croft meant that the boy would discover himself, find out for himself as to what he should do.

Jinnabhai spent some painful days and nights in taking a decision on the advice. Finally he agreed to send Mohammad Ali to London. Mithibai, Mohammad Ali's mother, was very devoted to him. She had to bow before her husband's decision for the betterment of their son. Separation from him for two to three years across the seven seas in those days was, no doubt, terrible for her as journey by sea was by no means easy and safe in those days. Then the mail came hardly once a month. However, Mithibai let God's will prevail. But both the parents wanted their son to get married before setting sail for England.

Marriage :

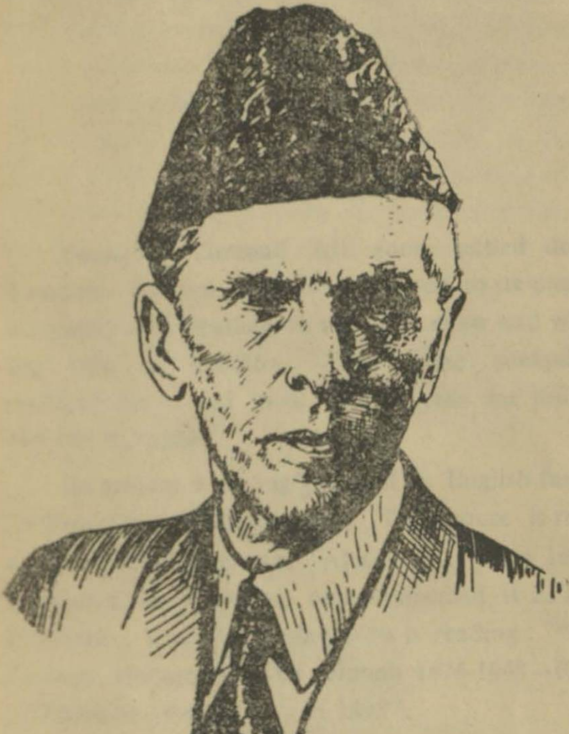
For Mithibai it was a simple problem. In Emi Bai she had already found a suitable match. A girl of marriageable age, she belonged to an Ismaili Khoja family that was known to her. The girl was readily available. Mohammad Ali trusted the wisdom of his father and had a great love for his mother. Though self-willed, he did not oppose their choice and decision affecting his life. It is said that this was the only case in his life in which he allowed others to settle his personal problem.

So they went to Paneli, their native village, by sea and bullock-cart for the marrige of Mohammad Ali, who was about sixteen years old then.

It was a grand marriage, full of music, colour, feasts and all the accompanying joys and, to top all, pomp and show. For Jinnabhai was now rolling in wealth. This being the marriage of their first child, he did not spare any money to make it becoming.

they went to Paneli, their native village, by cart and bullock-cart for the marriage of Muhammad Ali, who was about sixteen years old then.

It was a grand marriage, full of music, colour, feasts and all the accompanying joys and, on top of it, pomp and show. For Jinnahbhai was now rolling in wealth. After being the marriage of their first child, he did not spare any money to make it becoming.





2

IN ENGLAND

Young Mohammad Ali soon settled down in London. He was able to get used to its uncertain, extremely cold weather, to the fog, snow and whispering rain of London. They came unexpectedly, suddenly also ; and most of the year one waited for the sun to appear.

He became a paying guest of an English family on 35 Russel Street, Kensington. This house is reported to have been impressive. Almost 50 years later, the London County Council commemorated it as his first residence. It put up a plaque on it reading : "Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah 1876-1948—Founder of Pakistan—stayed here in 1895".

As Mohammad Ali was to discover a new country in England, so was he to discover himself : he was to find out what he wished to be in life, what he had come for to England. For one year this young

boy, in his teens, saw and thought and read about this new world around him. He breathed in the free, liberal atmosphere of England as he belonged to a slave country—India. But now he was in a free one, which ruled India and many other countries. He read its bold newspapers which criticised the Government without any fear of punishment. He heard the speeches of famous British politicians and statesmen, both inside and outside the Parliament.

Early wish :

All this was new to him since he belonged to a commercial family ; and he was only a Matriculate. Yet he had come to England to decide what career he was to adopt for which he was to get necessary education. As a young man he had once declared on seeing an advocate in black gown, "I want to be a barrister" ! Independent England must have aroused his desire again. One day a chance visit to Lincoln's Inn gave it clear expression. Nearly fifty five years later, in 1947, he revealed at Karachi, "I joined Lincoln's Inn because there, on the main entrance, the name of the Prophet was included in the list of the great law-givers of the world".

Visits to Parliament :

Thus Mohammad Ali came to study law with a view to becoming a barrister. Though he was not a

book-worm, he took his studies seriously, getting fond of reading additional books, apart from professional ones. He also joined the library of the British Museum to keep himself well-informed about the world affairs. Meantime he grew more interested in visiting the Hyde Park and the House of Commons. At the former he heard soap-bax oratory on Sunday. In the latter, he saw and heard famous British statesmen like Gladstone, Joseph Chamberlain and others make bold speeches and take part in debates and their conduct. He saw, in short, the British Parliament, the greatest upholder of democracy in the world, in action which made a deep impression on his young mind.

Love of Stage :

Young Mohammad Ali's increasing fondness for the art of public speaking led him to take interest in the stage also. For it had some common elements of acting : the rise and fall of the speaker's voice and use of physical expressions to make one's speech more effective. As Mohammnd Ali had acquired a good deal of liking for English literature also, study of Shakespeare made him see his plays on the stage also at the Old Vic. But theatre-going was expensive. Therefore Mohammad Ali visited the theatre occasionally. This was also due to his love of purchasing books, which were comparatively cheaper. However, once he felt so much charmed by the stage that he seriously

thought of adopting acting as a career. But he got a bit-part in the Shakespeream Dramatic Club by chance only. As he did not like to play minor roles, he gave up the idea of becoming a professional actor. Thereafter, his greatest interest came to be taking part in practical-politics. For, during his student days he came in wide contact with Indian students whom he brought together on one platform to speak for India.

Dada Bhai Naroji :

Mohammad Ali's gift of the gab and convincing power came into play for the first time in the election of Dada Bhai Naroji, called the Grand Old Man of India. Dada Bhai was an Indian Parsee businessman who had settled down in England. He was a patriot to the bones, and the first Indian in England to stand as a candidate in the election to the British Parliament because he wanted to fight colour prejudice as some British politicians had hatefully turned him down as a "black man". In the Indian community two highly patriotic students had most deeply disliked this remark. They were M. A. Jinnah and C. R. Das. By now Mohammad Ali Jinnah had changed his name for ever to M. A. Jinnah. This was the name by which he was always remembered as a public figure.

Mohammad Ali was deeply influenced by the personality and ideas of Dada Bhai. He respected and

admired him, though Mohammad Ali was much younger—a kind of kid before him.

Dada Bhai fought the election and succeeded in it. This was partly due to a very active part Mohammad Ali played in it. As a member of a subject nation and under the influence of British liberal thought which believed in giving freedom to the colonies, Mohammad Ali was inspired to fight for the freedom of India some day. Dada Bhai had blazed the trail for him! Lincoln's Inn was giving him the weapon for it. Along with getting lessons in law at the Inn, he was getting early ones in practical and clean politics in London.

Life's Path and Goal :

M. A. Jinnah's path and goal of life were becoming clear. He declared some time later, "I want to be in London and enter Parliament, where I hope to wield some influence. There, I shall meet British statesmen on a footing of equality. They will be accessible to me, not in the sense that I shall seek them and beg for interviews. They will want me and I shall want them more". It proved to be very true later when he became one of the leading-most Indian leaders and the greatest of Muslims of the country.

Two Tragedies :

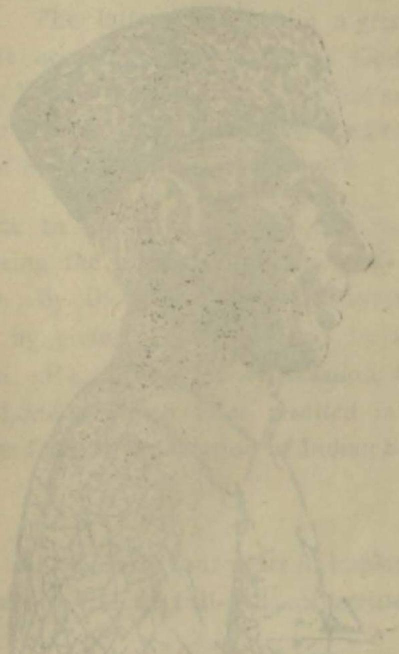
Two personal tragedies overtook Mohammad Ali in the meantime : the deaths of his young wife and mother. The latter caused him a great shock. However, he accepted the deaths as God's Will. Separated as he was thousands of miles and many seas, he could dot attend their funerals and shed tears over the deaths of his wife and beloved mother.

He stuck to his studies, and had the unique honour of being the youngest Indian to do his Bar in two years. By then he had added another feather to his cap by giving practical shape to a revolutionary idea. He set up the Association of Indian Students in London, which later resulted in the formation of the Central Association of Indian Students.

A Barrister :

After a stay of nearly four years in England, M.A. Jinnah returned to India a full-fledged barrister.





3

THREE DARK YEARS AND AFTER

On his return from England, M. A. Jinnah had to face hard times. For, as he had learnt abroad, his father's business had been ruined, the family, unfortunately, falling on evil days. Jinnabhai had got into legal disputes for this reason. He—Jinnabhai—had been driven to the law-court. Therefore Mohammad Ali had not only to support a large family but also to face the litigation against his father. Mohammad Ali's education had also cost him a fortune. However, he had borne it all with courage. Now he looked forward to his return, feeling confident that Mohammad Ali would set up practice at home—in Karachi—and share his untold burden and worries. However, though Mohammad Ali was alive to the situation, he decided otherwise : he would practise in Bombay rather than in Karachi.

Karachi Depresses :

M.A. Jinnah found the atmosphere of Karachi depressing. As against it, the climate of Bombay was healthy and the chances of making his mark in the profession bright. On the face of it, in Karachi he could get going immedialely if he so desired. His father had still very good relations with some leading Hindu firms that were prepared to take him on as their legal adviser. For there were very few Muslim barristers in the whole of Sind, let alone Karachi, in those days.

His father had talked over the matter with the firms. Both tried their best to persuade the young barrister to set up practice at Karachi. But Mohammad Ali firmly stuck to his decision of settling down in Bombay only. He assured his father that he would be able to solve his difficulties there in no time. Therefore the loving father gave way, though with a heavy heart.

On to Bombay :

So Mohammad Ali migrated to Bombay. There, he rented a room in a hotel living there for a long time and had himself enrolled in the Bombay High Court.

Starting independent practice in Bombay for a fresher was not a child's play. This city teemed

with lawyers, one excelling the other. Then M. A. Jinnah was a stranger. For three years he did not get a single case, trudging a long way to the Court and back from it with a heavy heart. But he put a bold face on it.

Briefless Barrister :

None suspected that this tall, well-dressed, handsome young barrister was briefless. He never lost heart nor stopped meeting people, ever enlarging his social contacts. He was a charming talker, had graceful manners and a lordly personality—was fascinating. Besides this he had patience and perseverence enough to pull through this trying period. As a result of it he was introduced to Macpherson, the then Advocate General of Bombay. He was so much impressed by M. A. Jinnah's qualities of head and heart that he assigned him some cases.

The Tide Turns :

Jinnah needed money badly since he had to meet not only his own financial difficulties but also those of his father. That is why he got interested in getting a government job. He got it for the asking as Macpherson recommended him strongly for that of a Presidency Magistrate, and M.A. Jinnah got it ! By his upright conduct he impressed the

Judicial Department so much that it offered him a better post on Rs. 1,500/- per month.

Now it was M. A. Jinnah who politely refused it, saying, "I will soon be able to earn that much in a single day". This showed his great confidence in himself.

He was not wrong, as his monthly income went up to Rs. 2,000/- per month shortly afterwards. He had the courage to openly admit that he started off "penniless" and was ever thankful to two famous Englishmen for having set him on a shining legal career. He resigned his job as a Presidency Magistrate in order to start independent practice.

And when he opened a grand office, he was showered with briefs. Now he became rich enough to send for his family to Bombay.

"Lord Simon" :

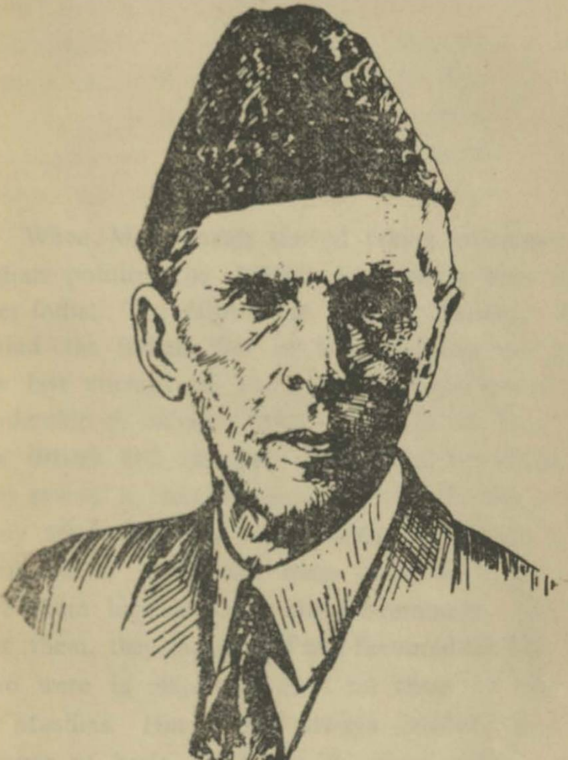
The young barrister M. A. Jinnah's fame rose higher and higher every day. He was respected by the "Judges, the juries, the solicitors and the clients, all alike" for his courage, cool-headedness, ringing voice, power of speech, remarkable cross-examination, mastery over law and self-respect. Whether his opponent in the presiding judge was an Indian or an Englishman, he did not let any one hurt him without

paying him in the same coin. But, at the same time, he maintained the honour of his profession as well as that of the Court. He never took up a false case nor demanded unjust dues. That is why he came to be called "Lord Simon of the Indian Bar". He suddenly appeared as a shining star on the Indian horizon and won the praise of leading personalities of every religion and community.

All these qualities of M. A. Jinnah were soon to be used for fighting the following battle for the freedom of India and protection of the rights of Indian Muslims. That is why Mrs Sarojini Naidu called him the Mazzini and the Muslim Gokhale of India.

paying him in the same coin. But, at the same time, he maintained the honour of his profession as well as that of the Court. He never took up a false case nor demanded unjust dues. That is why he came to be called wizard Simon of the Indian Bar. He suddenly appeared as a shining star on the Indian horizon and won the praise of leading personalities of every religion and community.

All these qualities of M. A. Jinnah were soon to be used for fighting the following battle for the freedom of India and protection of the rights of Indian Muslims. That is why Mrs Sarojini Naidu called him the Mazzini and the Muslim Gokhale of India.





4

THE INDIAN SCENE

When M.A. Jinnah started taking active part in Indian politics, the British had got a firm hold over India. The failure of Indian Mutiny, also called the Indian War of Independence, had been the last attempt of the Indian people, under the leadership of Bahadur Shah Zafar, to be free. As the British had snatched power from the Mughals, they saw to it that Muslims never got it back again. They tried their best to weaken, impoverish and insult them. They kept them backward ; did not give them high posts in the Government. As against them, they encouraged and favoured the Hindus, who were in majority, and set them off against the Muslims. Hindus had always disliked Muslims because of basic differences in their culture and religion, their way of living.

Though Muslims had treated Hindus well during their long rule of nearly one thousand years over

them in India and looked upon it as their own country, Hindus did not accept them. In fact, Hindus hated the followers of every other religion than their own—all non-Hindus—to the extent of looking down upon even their own lower castes. Whereas Islam regards all men as equal in the eyes of God, Hinduism does not. Hindus looked upon the Brahmin class as the most superior not only of its own four castes but also in the whole world. That is why Hindus tried either to convert or to absorb people belonging to different religions or faiths, or destroy them altogether. Hindus did not dine with an outsider or marry an outside woman nor allowed their own to marry a non-Hindu. They were very narrow in outlook, taking Muslims in particular to be their arch enemies. This was, to them, specially due to the reason that Hindus took themselves to be the original rulers, masters and people of India. They little understood that they were Aryans by origin. They were foreigners who had conquered, occupied, and settled down in India sometime in 1500 B.C. And, like them, many others, Greeks, Parthians, Kushans and others had also invaded and occupied and ruled over India afterwards. So also Islam came to India with the conquest of Sind by Mohammad bin Qasim in 712 A. D. But he came under different circumstances in that the sea-robbers of Sind had attacked Arab children and widows on the high seas. They looted and enslaved them. It was in order to help them

that Mohammad bin Qasim was sent to Sind by Hajjaj. In those days Raja Dahir ruled over Sind. Qasim was sent to punish him, resulting in Muslim rule over India later.

Muslim Decline :

Thus when the British came to India, two different nations, namely, Hindu and Muslim, lived there. They were Indians. For one thousand years they had lived together and wanted to live on through thick and thin. But now the narrow-minded Hindus wanted to take revenge on the Muslims for which they joined hands with the foreign ruler whose only purpose of occupying and ruling over India was to plunder its wealth. But when the British got full control over India, Hindus sided with them to improve their condition as much as possible.

After the death of Aurangzeb when the Muslims began to grow weak in every way, Hindus began to make the most of the worsening state of affairs in the country. One king replaced another ; chaos began to arise all over the country. Marhattas rose to power, followed by the Sikhs in the Punjab ; and the few remaining Muslim kings ruling over some parts of India were defeated by the British, mostly with the help of Hindu princes. In order to spite the Muslims and grind their own axe at the cost of India as a whole, Hindus sided with the British. However Muslims were also to blame for their own

downfall. As a result of it when the British dug themselves in, the plight of Muslims beggared description.

Sir Sayed :

The first great Muslim leader of late 19th Century was Sir Sayed. He drew the attention of Muslims to the causes of their downfall. He called upon Muslims to improve their condition and struggle to have undone the injustice done to them at the hands of the British and Hindus because both were bent upon crushing them. He urged them to take to modern education, including study of science and English, which the Hindus had readily agreed to learn. On the other hand, Muslims, on the whole, lived in the past priding on their by-gone glory as the former rulers of India only. They were also hide-bound in their outlook. They did not accept modern knowledge by acquiring which, as Sir Sayed forcefully impressed upon them, they could better their lot, and become capable of competing with the Hindus. For Hindus now dreamt of ruling India again.

Indian National Congress :

Hindus had set themselves the goal of getting *swarajya* or self-Government from the British. They had somehow formed the Indian National Congress for achieving this goal, Dada Bhai Naroji being one of its earlier presidents. M.A. Jinnah made his

entry into Indian politics by acting as his unofficial Honorary Secretary.

The Congress was, in fact, a Hindu organisation, but it posed to be nationalist, representing all other communities of India, including the Muslims. To prove it, as it were, it elected two Muslims as its Presidents between 1885-96. Sir Sayed saw through this clever game, and set up his Muslim Educational Congress, which led to the founding of the All India Muslim League on 30th December, 1906, at Dacca. He held the Educational Conference at the same time when the Congress held its annual session, in 1896. Thereby he wanted to prevent Muslims from joining the Congress.

The Educational Conference had, among others, two chief aims: (1) Protecting and advancing the rights of Muslims; (2) "Preventing the rise (among them) of any feelings of hostility towards other communities".

M.A. Jinnah's Election :

As a result of such political activities, the Government gave separate powers to different Indian religious communities to elect their representatives to the Legislative Councils. As such, M. A. Jinnah was elected to the Viceroy's Council from a Muslim Constituency of Bombay.

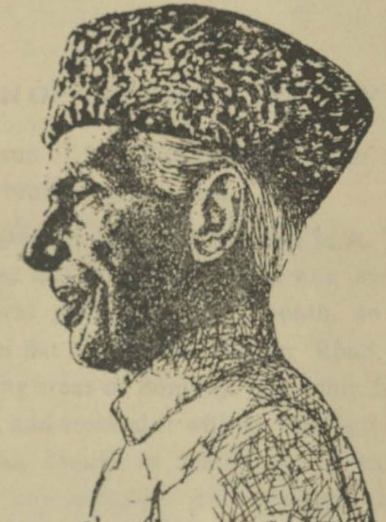
only introduced politics by acting as the local Honorary Secretary.

The Congress was, in fact, a Hindu organisation, but it posed to be nationalist, representing all the communities of India, including the Muslims. To prove it, as it were, it elected two Muslims as its Presidents between 1885-96. Sir Syed saw through this clever game, and set up the Muslim Educational Congress, which led to the founding of the All India Muslim League on 30th December, 1906, at Dacca. He held the Educational Conference at the same time when the Congress held its annual session, in 1886. Thereby, he wanted to prevent Muslims from joining the Congress.

The Educational Conference had, among others, two chief aims : (1) Protecting and advancing the rights of Muslims; (2) "Preventing the rise (among them) of any feelings of hostility towards other communities".

M.A. Jinnah's Election

As a result of such political activities, the Government gave separate powers to different Indian religious communities to elect their representatives to the Legislative Councils. Accordingly, M.A. Jinnah was elected to the Viceroy's Council from a Muslim Constituency of Bombay.





5

DAWN OF TWENTIETH CENTURY

Now the sun of 20th Century had begun to shine on India. It brought new hopes.

By its beginning the young barrister M.A. Jinnah's bright star rose higher and higher. He won every case, his income was going up every month, so that he rented a better flat on Appolo Bunder Road, one of the grand living areas of Bombay. He richly furnished it to his taste, and stocked it with an excellent library. He put up his family in Khoja Mohallah. As he was heavily pre-occupied on working days, he visited it regularly on Sundays only. He gladly bore all its expenses and took keen interest in solving its common family problems. One of the most difficult and frightening of these was the marriage of Rehmat Bai, one of his sisters.

A Family Problem :

Fortunately an unexpected proposal came from

Calcutta. It was from a well-to-do business family there. The boy was in business with his father, who knew the Jinnah family well on account of long dealings with him in the past. During a visit to Bombay, his wife saw Jinnah's sister and liked her immensely. Jinnahbhai also approved of the match, but he did not have the courage to marry his daughter outside the family. For while they—the Jinnahs—were Ismaili Khojas, the boy's family was of Sunni Khojas.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah's father was afraid of being boycotted and cast out by his community ; his son, on the other hand, was prepared to face the consequences of such marriage. He made a step-by-step plan to go about this problem. At first he had the boy's photo shown to him. He approved of him. Then he went straight to the Agha Khan, the head of their community. He conveyed to him his father's fears about the affair. But the Agha Khan told him not to worry, so that Rehmat Bai was successfully married outside the family. The ban was thus broken without courting any punishment from the community.

Joins Congress :

Such outlook of the young barrister showed how liberal, sensible and practical he was. His long stay in England was responsible for it, as his political

thinking had also been coloured by it. That is why he joind the Congress, which had elected Dada Bhai Naroji as its President for the third time, and carried on a liberal policy.

The Congress had to follow a very cautious policy right from the beginning. Since 1885 it had believed in being loyal to the Government. Then it changed its policy slightly to a struggle for the introduction of a few basic, general reforms as well as some in the government.

It advised against the use of force. Young political agitators used this method to protest against the cruel policy of the Government. They wanted to compel it to accept their demands in this way. M.A. Jinnah was a lawyer, who always uses legal methods for fighting his case in a court of law. In politics use of such method was, to him, constitutional that aimed at change in the law of the country so that people might get their rights. This was the method urged by great Indian leaders like Dada Bhai, Gokhale, Bannerji and C. R. Das. Jinnah recognised them all as his *gurus*.

Jinnah's Ideal Leader :

Of all these, however, he regarded Dada Bhai as his ideal in politics, the greatest model leader. He was a great patriot. So also was young Jinnah ; both keen to fight for the freedom of India. In England

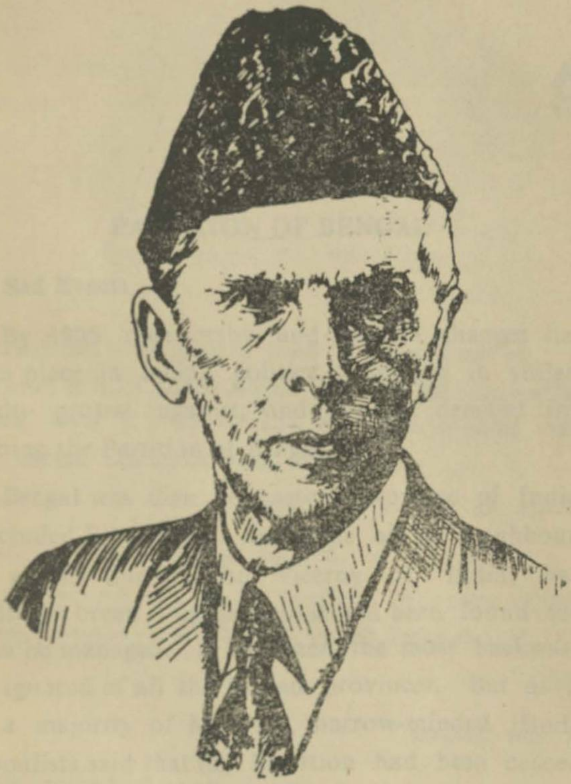
he had come in contact with members of the Irish Parliament who were struggling for their own independence from England and seen them also using this method.

The Grand Old Man immensely liked Jinnah for his great qualities of head and heart. He had forecast that one day he would become a great leader of India. So also Gokhale thought about him. He had once said of him, "Mr. Jinnah is one who has true stuff in him and that freedom from all sectarian prejudice which makes him the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity".

All of these *gurus* of Jinnah believed in serving the country without giving up their principles and remaining clean and honest in politics. They were never selfish or sought their own good. Jinnah followed both in thought and action. So blessed by these great men, he became great, and made their as well as his own dream of getting idependence for India come true in his life-time.

As Honorary Secretary of Dada Bhai in as far back as 1906 he accompanied him to Calcutta where the latter was to preside over the annual session of the Congress. Dada Bahi had grown too old for the hard, tiresome work of the President. With young

Jinnah as his secretary, it is possible that the latter wrote out his fiery speeches and drafted his pointed resolutions. Anyhow, their essence was that India should get as much Self-Government as was being enjoyed by other British self-governing colonies.





6

PARTITION OF BENGAL

Two Sad Events :

By 1906 noteworthy and painful changes had taken place in Indian politics consisting in violent Hindu protest against, and popular demand for, undoing the Partition of Bengal.

Bengal was then an eastern province of India. It included Bihar, Orissa and some of its neighbouring areas. Curzon, the Viceroy of India, had decided to break it up because it had been found too big to be managed. It had been the most backward and ignored of all the Indian provinces. But as it had a majority of Muslims, narrow-minded Hindu nationalists said that the Partition had been caused by British conspiracy or plot to harm the Hindus. Much more, to separate them from Muslims.

Actually, things were different. The agitation by the Hindus was selfish as their businessmen wanted

to maintain their hold on the province. They aimed at retaining their monopoly of its rich produce like jute, fish, rice and products like muslin. Then the Hindu landlords also thought it dangerous because they owned most of the land, Bengali Muslims serving as poor tenants only. They had been sucking the blood of Bengali Muslims for more than a century. For neither the British nor the Hindus wanted them to become strong again and have another Siraj-ud-Daula.

So the Hindus of West Bengal, after the Partition of Bengal, felt as if they had lost half of this province. They little realised that they——it was West Bengal ——who had grown rich and advanced rather than East Bengal. Yet they gave it a nationalist colouring.

Another cause of such protest was the rise of Hindu extremists in the ranks of the Congress itself. Led by a bigoted leader, Tilak, they condemned the Partition.

A New Chapter :

But a new chapter was to open in Indian history and two persons were to change its course: Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Mohan Lal Karam Chand Gandhi, both respectively called M. A. Jinnah and Gandhi by the Indian peoples. M. A. Jinnah had already become one of the leading-most leaders of

India, being senior to Gandhi, who was still in Africa.

Jinnah was highly respected by the Congress leaders and greatly influenced its policy. As the greatest champion of Hindu-Muslim unity he had been called its "Ambassador" by no less than an eminent leader like Gokhale. He gave new ideas and push to the Congress.

At the Nagpur annual session of the Congress, held in 1910, he acted as the moving force behind its demand that Britain should grant dominion statue to India. He also opposed Separate Electorates to minorities, including Muslims, to local bodies such as municipalities, and so on. Separate Electorates were special rights the Government had granted on their previous demand in that they might be allowed to send their representatives to the local bodies.

Jinnah was, perhaps, the leading-most of all Indian leaders and statesmen who stressed the importance of withdrawal of Separate Electorates for uniting all the communities in order that they might struggle for independence together. He believed that that was the most useful way of fighting the British—foreign rulers of India.

At this time two other brilliant Muslim leaders were playing an unforgettable role in the national struggle for independence by rousing the Muslims

through their writings. They were Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, publishers and editors of two most famous Papers—the Comrade and the Al-Hilal respectively.

As the Muslims were becoming conscious of their rights and the important part they had to play in the national struggle, the Muslim League became more active and alive. It also became more progressive. In 1910 and 1911 it invited Jinnah to address its various important meetings. It needed the guidance of such a distinguished leader.

As expected, he put a new life into it, set a new goal and struck out a new path for it. That is how, in 1913, the League demanded suitable Self-Government for India in a constitutional way !

It was a great victory for Jinnah, for he made the League think and work in broader terms. It became as patriotic as the Congress, yet with one remarkable difference in it : the League grew more conscious of the need for Hindu-Muslim unity than the Congress whose appeal for it did not appear to be sincere. As Jinnah was now a member of both the Congress and the Muslim League simultaneously, he was called a "bridge" between the two communities. But he did not stop at that alone. For at the Karachi session of the League he made two further demands of the British Government :

(1) That the Secretary for State for India was an employee of the British Government. Therefore his salary should be charged to the British Exchequer and not to that of India ;

(2) Members of the Viceroy's Council should not be nominated by the Government but elected by representatives of the people of India.

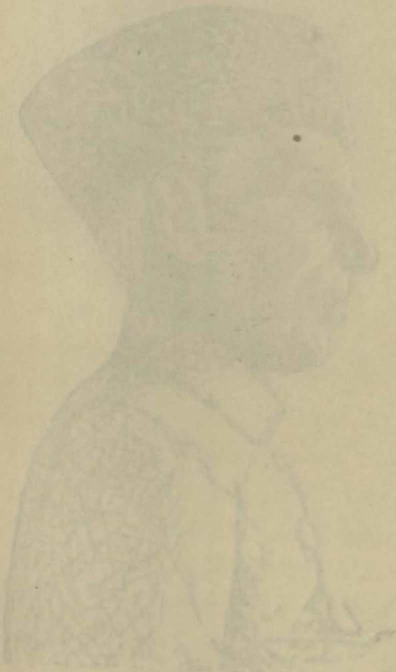
However, Jinnah realised, far more than any other of his contemporary leaders, that no big reforms regarding the welfare of the Indian peoples could be introduced unless Hindus and Muslims were united. To this end he proposed that some way of holding their joint session might be explored.

Official Threat :

This was a new threat, a new challenge to the Government as it wanted a *status-quo* in Indian politics because it did not like that the Indian struggle for independence should become serious or active. Therefore it tried its utmost to break up such a meeting as Jinnah had proposed. He being the originator of this dangerous plan, the Government picked him out as the target of its attack, at the same time issuing secret instructions to the bureaucracy to prevent the holding of any such meeting. It tried to bring pressure of some Muslim citizens to bear on him to give up the idea. Failing this, the police was at hand to have the meeting disrupted.

At one stage it led to his direct clash with Lord Willingdon, the Governor of Bombay. But Jinnah had bigger clashes before. He did not care for a minor one as he never took a firm stand unless he was convinced of the rightness of his cause.





7

A RED-LETTER DAY

December 30, 1915. It was a red-letter day in the history of India since on this day the Congress and the League held their simultaneous sessions at Bombay.

Under Jinnah's inspiration such eminent leaders of the Congress as Surrendra Nath Bannerji, Gandhi and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, along with some others, attended the League session. It ended with the historic demand that only National Government, consisting of elected members of the people, was acceptable to them. The Congress welcomed it with joy. They hailed the announcement and warmly embraced leading members of the League. Thinking that the hour to strike had struck for the police and the hirelings engaged by it at the instance of the Government, they forced an entry into the meeting and succeeded in disrupting it.

But the League was not to be cowed down by such sabotage. The next day it held a limited

meeting of its session at the Taj Mahal Hotel. In this meeting, M.A. Jinnah moved the historic resolution that the League should set up a special committee after consulting other political bodies to draw up a common plan for political reforms. This should protect Muslim interests and rights so that India might get *Swaraj* as soon as possible. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, then a member of the League, warmly spoke in support of this resolution. It was passed amidst wild cheering of the League and Congress guests who were again attending it.

The Congress also sympathised with the League in such demand and formed a special committee, as requested for by it, to work out a common scheme for political reforms. On account of his great performance at this session of the League at Bombay, M.A. Jinnah was elected its President for its next session, which was to be held at Lucknow. So also did the Congress. Thus both again decided to hold their sessions simultaneously at Lucknow.

Lucknow Pact :

But before the two met in their simultaneous annual sessions at Lucknow, their repesentatives met together at Calcutta in November 1916. There, Jinnah took a further step. He was a member of the Joint Committee of the two organisations. It consisted of

nineteen members. They drafted a memorandum containing their joint, agreed demands. On Jinnah's initiative they sent this memorandum, commonly called the Congress-League Pact, to the Viceroy. The Committee accepted Jinnah's proposal that it should be backed by the elected Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

At Lucknow, as President of the League, and that of the Congress also, he voiced similar feelings. On December 30, 1916 Jinnah declared "...the All-India Muslim League stands abreast of the Indian National Congress and is ready to participate in any patriotic efforts for the advancement of the country as a whole."

The Congress President echoed the same thoughts in these words : "The All-India Congress Committee and the rerpresentatives of the Muslim League have resolved to make a joint demand for a representative Government in India."

That is, Jinnah had brought round the Congress to accept his new stand of grant Separate Electorates as the basis of their co-operation. Jinnah had now changed his position as compared with his previous attitude in this respect. Previously he was against Separate Electorates and wanted joint ones instead. Now he reversed his stand ; he insisted on separate ones as the basis of co-operation with the Congress. It was

mainly due to the ill-treatment of Muslims at the hands of Hindus at large and the resulting fear that they were out to harm their interests. Jinnah had become convinced of such hostile attitude of the Hindus. Though he had consistently called for Hindu-Muslim unity, he wanted to ensure it by saving Muslims from the high-handedness of Hindus in future.

In any case, he scored a big victory as an honest, devoted and practical well-wisher of all the communities and a great patriot. Now he stood out as a great Indian leader and the *Quaid* of Muslims.

The Lucknow Pact greatly affected the nature of Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919.

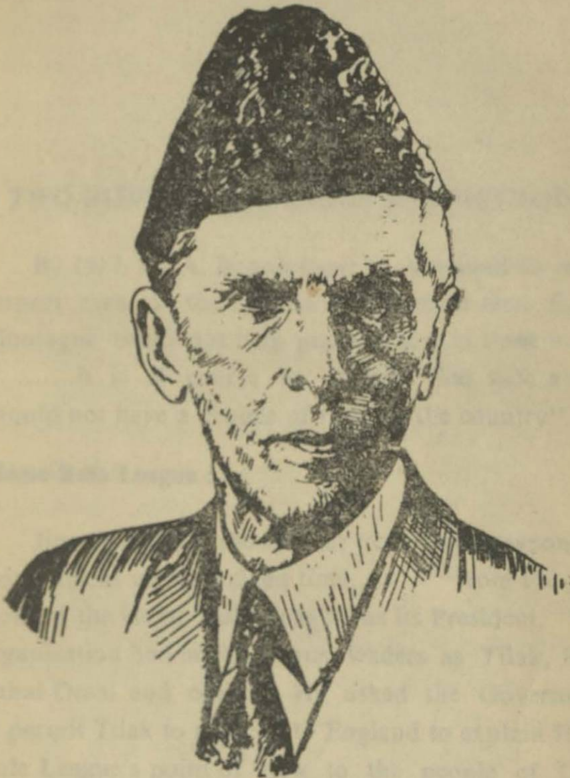
Nationalist Lawyer :

Jinnah's stature as a lawyer was rising higher and higher every day. He came to be regarded as one of the few leading-most lawyers of the country. He pleaded the cause of the nation and his own community with as much skill as he applied in legal ones. He never let false charges go unchallenged, having the courage to call even the British government to account in this respect.

Since 1909 he had been continuonsly elected from the Muslim Constituency of Bombay to the Supreme Legislative Council. He continued to enjoy this honour and confidence for *thirty-eight years.*

Meantime he had also been elected Chairman, Board of Directors of the Bombay Chronicle and President of the Home Rule League.

Whatever means he could effectively use to fight different wrongs by, he welcomed. Whether it was a political platfrom or a public meeting or a newspaper or the floor of the Assembly, he availed himself of it as a fearless champion of the people's rights. As such he came up against Lord Minto on the "cruel treatment" of Indians in South Africa; criticised the Government for its "misdeeds and acts of violence", denounced "police high-handedness". This rebel with a cause, at the same time, was a reasonable person who believed that "it is the duty of the educated man to support and help the Government when the Government is right".





8

TWO DIFFERENT PERSONS AND METHODS

By 1917, M. A. Jinnah came to command so much respect even of the Indian Government that Edwin Montague could not help praising him in these words "..........it is of course an outrage that such a man should not have a chance of running the country".

Home-Rule League :

Jinnah sent out the call for "complete, responsible Government within a fixed time...... " from the plat-from of the Home Rule League as its President. This organisation had such famous leaders as Tilak, Bhol-abhai Desai and others. He asked the Government to permit Tilak to proceed to England to explain Home Rule League's point of view to the people of Great Britain. But the Government, on the other hand, was concerned about carrying out the War (1914—1918) rather than discussing the demands of Indian political parties.

Jinnah took an unbending stand on this issue. He openly protested against the policy of Lord Willingdon, the Governor of Bombay, as he had accused him (Jinnah) of belonging to the Left Wing of the Congress. That is, he was most uncompromising like the extremist section of the Congress of which he was a member. This section of the Congress believed in going to any length to make the Government meet its demands.

Gandhi :

By then Gandhi had come to have a strong influence with the Congress. It mostly agreed with, and carried out, what he said. Before long he was called Mahatma Gandhi by the Congress and the Hindus both of them looking upon him as a saint, a holy man.

Gandhi was an absolutely novel personality in Indian politics. He was a rigid Hindu, leading the life of a holy man in the Hindu style. He looked like an Indian *fakir*, having wooden sandals for his footwear, wearing a small *dhoti* made of *khaddar*—home-spun cloth. In summer he kept his torso naked, covering himself with one end of his *dhoti* in winter, and remained bare-headed. While walking he had a longish and thickish stick in his hand. He took goat's milk and fruit only ; lived in a hut among the *shudras*—outcasts of Hindu Society. He wanted to bring back *Ram Raj* (Ram was a legendary, noble

Hindu king). Gandhi wanted to force such rule on the peoples of India regardless of their religion. He disliked Muslims in his heart of hearts.

He secretly opposed the grant of Separate Electorates to the minorities, meaning Muslims thereby in particular. For they were the largest minority community or nation of India.

Unlike Jinnah, Gandhi was not frank and straightforward. His thinking was also peculiar. Instead of reasoning, he believed in his "inner voice" as his guide. Jinnah never liked his policy nor his personality. That is why they could not be reconciled in the next thirty eight years. Gandhi created a rift, disunity, in the Congress, in the first place, so that the unity which marked the Congress-League relations in the Lucknow Pact shortly disappeared. Leading members of the Home Rule League, like Bholabhai Desai, resigned from it.

However, Jinnah continued to fight for the rights of citizens for the grant of liberty to them as well as the country. As ever, he raised his voice against unjust laws and for justice and popular causes. This brought him in direct conflict, in 1918, with Sir Rowlatt, a British Judge, who had been involved in the making of a very cruel law about deciding as to who was a rebel and what punishment he was to be meted out.

Jinnah People's Hall :

That very year the citizens of Bombay built a public hall, called Jinnah People's Hall, in recognition of the unparalleled services he had rendered to them and the whole of India.

He did not let slip a single opportunity to condemn the Government when contemplated any anti-people Bill.

Leader of Opposition :

All along Jinnah had followed a consistent constitutional policy. In the Legislative Council he was, therefore, elected its Leader by the Opposition Group. An eloquent speaker, he used his peerless legal skill to smash every anti-people Bill moved by the Government. In Vithalbhai J. Patel he found a superb supporter. Both of them mercilessly called the Government to account for suppressing liberties of the people, denying them civil and political rights. That is why the Government specially sent him to England to explain to the British Government and people of Great Britain the Indian point of view. For none among Indian leaders other than him had three strings to his political bow in being a member of the Congress, the League and the Home Rule League simultaneously. This was because he had severely criticised the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, introduced in 1918, as being absolutely different from

the Memorandum of Nineteen submitted to the Viceroy by the Congress and the League jointly after the Lucknow Pact.

Resignation :

Jinnah never brooked lies or fraud. He believed in honesty in private as well as in public life. The Montague-Chemsford Reforms were a big piece of Government fraud meant to cheat the people into believing that it had granted them what they had demanded. Therefore Jinnah resigned his seat in the Imperial Council in 1919 as a protest against the Chelmsford Reforms.

Civil Disobedience :

As against this constitutional protest which did not mean any physical harm to the Government, Gandhi called for civil disobedience and *ahimsa*. Under it Indians were to boycott the Government,—none was to co-operate with it. Government employees were to stay away from work. Every one of its departments was to stop working : the railways, posts and telegraph offices ; schools and colleges ; government factories ; boycott of British goods ;—all came to a stand still. Nor would the public co-operate with the government.

So, Gandhi's call for action was carried out throughout the length and breadth of India. But,

instead of remaining peaceful, his followers took to the path of arson, destruction, looting of property and killing of Englishmen, a small number of whom really fell victims to such fury. The path of peace was turned into that of war, *ahimsa* or non violance into violence. And *hartals* (general strikes) became the order of the day.

Jallianwala Bagh :

The fire of revolt began to spread fast. In the Punjab it became very dangerous for the Government. An attack on an English woman by a ruffian in Amritsar was the signal for a big, dark tragedy. Although the lady was saved by an Indian at the cost of his life, the British became ruthelessly revengeful. Their terror and cruelty came into action : Martial Law was imposed in the Punjab.

On the 12th of April, 1919, British bayonets, guns and machine guns came into play at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar. In this Garden, which was surrounded by walls on all sides with only five small entrances, nearly 20,000 persons had gathered to protest against the high-handedness of the Government. In a few minutes hundreds of them were mowed down by machine gun under the orders of General Dyer.

British troops came down on the people of Lahore, Gujranwala and some other cities of the Punjab also.

It shocked India and stunned Gandhi who called his call a "Himalayan miscalculation". He felt sorry over his policy which had resulted in the Jallianwala Massacre. It only confirmed that Jinnah's constitutional method was the only one most suited to India under the circumstances. Gandhi's call made him and many others resign from the Home Rule League because the former had tried to use it as his tool. Jinnah had left it earlier.

Thus he and Jinnah drifted apart still further.





9

NEW TROUBLE FOR MUSLIMS

Though World War I ended well for the British, India's struggle for independence was not yet ended. The Chelmsford Reforms were unsatisfactory. They made people more angry and rebellious. But Indian Muslims became so for yet another reason.

The Allies, including the British, signed a very unjust treaty with Turkey after its defeat at their hands. Turkey lost half of its empire in it ; and the British unjustly split and divided the Muslim area they had captured in the war so as to weaken them and create a rift in the Muslim world. All along it had looked upon the Caliph of Turkey as its spiritual leader. His fall and the humiliation of the country by the western world, particularly by Britain, was unacceptable to the Muslims of India. As Britain had gone out of its way to cause greatest harm to Turkey, the Muslims of India rose against it as one

man and called upon the Government to undo the wrong. This it would not, only promising to help the Khilafat leaders.

Ali Brothers and Khilafat Movement :

Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali, famous as Ali Brothers, led a country-wide agitation against it. This was of the nature of civil disobedience. They incited the Muslims to rebellion against the Government. Maulana Muhammad Ali wrote critical articles against it. This movement was called that of Khilafat.

Gandhi jumped at the opportunity to make the most of it with a view to winning over Muslims to the Congress. As a result of it, thousaads of Muslims left the country and hundreds were exiled.

Though the Congress joined hands with the Muslims, and both protested to the Government against Britain and her allies' cruelties on the Turks, nothing came out of it but suffering for the Indian Muslims.

Jinnah knew beforehand such an outcome of the agitation and stood aloof from it.

Moplah Revolt :

Gandhi's civil discobedience recoiled on the Muslims from another quarter also. This was the

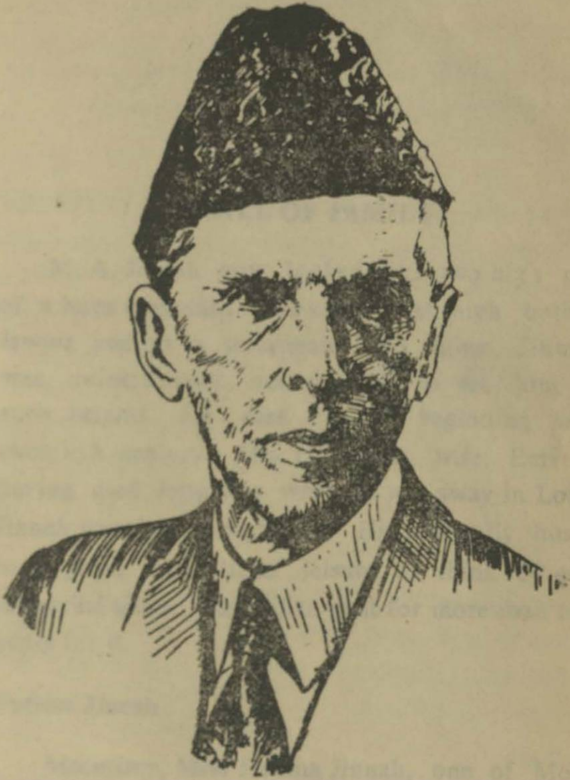
Moplah Revolt. The Moplahs lived on the Malabar coast of India. They were Arabs by origin. When they rose against the Government, it dealt with them cruelly. One hundred of them were packed in a small railway compartment, which was meant hardly for forty passengers. Consequently they died of heat.

Hundreds of Indians were reported killed by Government troops at other places in India also so that Gandhi called off the Non-Co-operation Movement. Only a reasonable agreement with the Governmeet could satisfy the people and bring about peace to the country. It was, therefore, proposed to hold a Round Table Conference of all the parties and representatives of the Government. But it did not meet with an encouraging reply and failed.

All-Parties Conference :

However, M.A. Jinnah made a move to hold an All-Parties Conference in January 1922, at Bombay. He again urged that through Hindu-Muslim unity only could the required understanding be reached with the Government. He succeeded in causing the Conference to be held.

The All-Parties Conference arrived at the unanimous decision that the Government should be called upon to withdraw certain unjust and strict laws against the people to pave the way for holding a Round Table Conference.





10

CALL OF FAMILY

M. A. Jinnah now looked like two high peaks of a huge mountain. He stood that high both as a lawyer and as a statesman. His father, Jinnabhai was, unfortunately, not destined to see him reach such heights. He died in the beginning of the twentieth century. His (Jinnah's) wife, Emi Bai, having died long ago while he was away in London, Jinnah was left a widower. His unusually busy life had given him little leisure to think of getting remarried since. He had to wait for more than twenty years for it.

Fatima Jinnah :

Meantime, Miss Fatima Jinnah, one of Mohammad Ali's younger sisters, had reached school-going age. Like a most affectionate brother, he looked for the most suitable school for her to be put in. He regarded a Catholic Convent on Bandra

as the best for her. Though it was quite far away from his residence, it had a boarding-house attached to it.

After having had Fatima admitted there, he visited her regularly every Sunday at her hostel.

Petits :

Since his youth M. A. Jinnah had a special liking for Parsees, perhaps for their grace and respectable aloofness, Dadabhai Naroji having served as his ideal leader. So he spent a part of leisure with some Parsee friends he got in his heavy legal practice. Sir Dinshaw Petit and Lady Petit were regarded as one of the elite of the Parsees. Though their Parsee Club, like other Parsee ones, was open to this community only, Jinnah had the distinction of being invited there as a constant guest of the Petits.

Tall, handsome ; having a magnetic personality ; an excellent talker and entertaining wit ; ever neat and well-dressed ; Jinnah was a source of pride to any one as company and friend.

Rutti Bai :

The Petits had a very young, very handsome and very intelligent, witty and wise daughter, Rutti Bai. She admired Jinnah for his all-round qualities, specially for his being a great leader. She also strongly believed in getting freedom for women, their emancipation.

Another common interest she discovered in Jinnah was that, like her, he was fond of horse-riding. So the two would go horse-riding on Chaupaty sands which were far away from the noise and tumble of the city. While Rutti Bai was 17, Jinnah was 41 then. Yet they enjoyed each other's company ; so also, in their own way, her parents liked Jinnah. They regarded Jinnah as such a close and trusted friend that they once invited him to spend his summer vacation with Rutti alone at a hill-station, other than the one they usually visited every year as they—her parents—could not go there that year.

Rutti Bai and Jinnah had got so close to each other that when they returned from the hill-station they decided to get married. But when the Petits came to know of their desire, they did not approve of it because Parsees did not permit marriage outside their community. Besides, Rutti Bai was a minor then, only seventeen years of age. So Jinnah waited for one year till she attained the age of eighteen to become legally major and free to marry according to her choice.

Marriage :

When Rutti turned eighteen, Jinnah got her embrace Islam and married her. Sir Dinshaw went to the law-court to have the marriage cancelled, only to learn, to his disappointment, that nothing could be done now in this regard.

Though twenty-four years younger than Jinnah, Rutti Bai seemed to be a suitable match for him on account of their common striking qualities. She was charming, fearless, witty, wise and patriotic. Her repartee was worth listening to at social gatherings. One of her most memorable ones may well be given here.

Lord Reading was one of the guests at a social gathering to which the Jinnahs were also invited. In the course of conversation with Rutti, the Lord addressed her as "Lady Jinnah". Came the sharp reply from her, "If my husband accepts knighthood, I will take a separation from him".

Unfortunately, it turned out to be true not long after, though in a different sense. Rutti was self-willed, independent, haughty and very young. These differences soon appeared on the surface. She and Jinnah began to live apart, though remaining on visiting terms. By then they had got a daughter, their only child, during their married life. She was named Dina. Jinnah loved her very much. When she grew twelve years old, he put her in a boarding-school in England.

Whenever he went to England, he made a point of visiting her. Even till the birth of Pakistan he continued to love her deeply. Unfortunately he withdrew fatherly affection for her when she married a Parsee against his advice.

Jinnah's married life had already finished as he had cooled off towards Rutti, just as she had. Both realised that their marital choice had been wrong. Some misunderstandings naturally arose between the two in the meanwhile, though their common friends brought about compromises between them from time to time.

Ultimately Rutti fell ill. Jinnah was grieved by it. In those days he was away, in England. Rutti was in Paris with her mother for treatment. When Jinnah got the shocking news of her illness, he was in Ireland. He lost no time in making the best treatment available to her. As a result of it Rutti recovered for the time being. But the two again fell out with each other. Rutti hurriedly returned home without informing Jinnah about her departure.

Rutti's Death :

Then came the eternal parting in 1928. When Jinnah was at Delhi in connection with attending the session of the Central Assembly, he got the news that Rutti had been taken seriously ill.

So he dashed to Bombay. But he got late, reaching there only when she had died. And when her coffin was being lowered into the grave, Jinnah burst out weeping—one of the rare occasions when he

lost control over his feelings. This great figure was human at heart, in any case.

His immense love of the motherland got the better of it. However, at Bombay, at the dead of night, he would weep on seeing Rutti's clothes.





11

GANDHI APPRECIATES JINNAH'S POLICY

Gandhi's method had failed. So a practical one was needed. Jinnah's constitutional struggle was its only substitute. Gandhi had also come to believe, like him, that the salvation of India lay in Hindu-Muslim unity. Gandhi understood that the Congress and the League had now acquired communal colour due to his policy. Yet he did not realise that the Congress claimed to be non-communal, national, claiming to guarantee the rights of Muslims among the minorities. The League, on the other hand, had one clear object of protecting their rights; but it was nationalist—patriotic—all the same. The very fact that Hindu-Muslim riots had become common proved the rightness of the League stand.

Jinnah's Appeal :

In order to stop the disorder resulting from Congress policy, Jinnah urged that Indians should

enter Legislative Councils. For a legal solution of the problems of the two communities as well as those of other minorities was the only permanent one. That is why he constantly got himself elected to the Central Legislative Assembly from the Muslim constituency of Bombay. In his appeal to the voters he declared, "I have no desire to get any post or position or title from the Government. My sole object is to serve the cause of the country as best as I can". And in a later speech he said about his political ideals ".........we should declare openly that 'India is for Indians' and carry on the struggle for the attainment of *swaraj*". By then he had left the League. However, he affirmed that its policy would not go against the Congress, the Khilafat Movement or Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind.

A Reaction :

It was very sad that Maulana Muhammad Ali, who was President of the Congress, had accused the League of being a communal organisation. It naturally provoked Jinnah to prove him wrong. In fact the attitude of the League, in that it had now cried for safeguard of Muslims' rights all the more, was a reaction to the policy of Hindu bigots. Gandhi and most of the Hindu members of the Congress and other communal organisations had launched three spiteful dangerous movements that were directed against

Musims of whom they were afraid. These were: "(1) Protection of the Cow; (2) *Shuddhi*; and (3) *Sanghthan*".

They were anti-Muslims because (1) Muslims slaughter the cow, whereas Hindus worship it according to their respective beliefs. Muslims, however, do not kill milk-giving cows. Thereby Hindus were interfering with the religious rights of Muslims; (2) Hindus thought their religion to be superior-most in the world and did not allow any other to flourish. They did not leave any choice to the Muslims or even non-Muslims to follow their own teachings; they must be either converted to Hinduism or be destroyed! The Hindus wrongly believed that most of the Muslims were Hindus by origin, but had embraced Islam during Muslim rule over India at the point of sword. In this way they claimed back, as it were, Indian Muslims in the fold of Hinduism; (3) Hindus had become conscious of the internal differences among themselves. Perhaps this was a reaction to embracing Islam of their free-will by the Hindus and its broad outlook and simple practices.

Arya Samaj:

The Arya Samaj was the most frank and war-like of Hindu organisations. It was largely responsible for Hindu-Muslim riots after the Lucknow Pact. Under Gandhi's leadership, the Congress connived at them. And now the former great leaders

like Dada Bhai, Gokhale and Mohsin-ul-Mulk were no more. They had left behind M. A. Jinnah alone to preach and fight for communal harmony and peace.

From 1925 to 1929 bloody riots had broken out in leading cities like Delhi, Calcutta, Allahabad followed by ones at Bareilly (UP), Bihar, Multan and many other places. Bigotted Hindus had been generally the first to start them by insulting Islam, burning and looting Muslim property and desecrating mosques. The Arya Samaj did not hide its hatred of Muslims, urging that they should either turn Hindus or else be wiped out. Gandhi made a very revealing statement at the height of the riots by saying, "the two communities might shed one another's blood then as it would be useful for them". The Hindu Mahasabha, a purely Hindu political body, joined hands with the Arya Samaj in its war against the Muslims.

Big Clash :

When M. A. Jinnah brought all these facts to the notice of Maulana Muhammad Ali, a giant of Muslim politics, the two fiercely clashed with each other. For the former openly accused the latter of serving as a tool of Gandhi who had plotted to win over the Muslims by making him join the Congress fold in order to defame the Muslim League.

Great Reforms :

That is how Jinnah kept up his struggle outside the Assembly. Inside it, he continued his fight in his famous crusader's way. Few of his fellow-members had moved so many bills for the betterment of the people of India's different classes as he. He had had reforms made in the following fields early on—

(1) Indianisation of the army. As a result of it, an academy for the training of Indian officers was opened at Dehra Dun.

(2) Mussalman Wakf Validating Bill : it was aimed at saving former ruling families from financial ruin by means of a *wakf* or trust created out of the money and property they had inherited. It prevented wasting of them by an irresponsible member of the family. Moreover, the Hindu money-lender would make capital out of the misery of honourable Muslim families. If one of them pledged his property to them, the Hindu money-lender would never return it to him in case he failed to repay the money he had borrowed from him. This evil practice resulted in the starvation of the borrower's children for no fault of theirs.

This Bill was piloted by Mr M. A. Jinnah against common practice, as only official members of the Council usually did so.

(3) Holding of Indian Civil Service Examination in India : previously it was held in England only, but now Indian candidates could essily sit for it in their own country. (4) Making bureaucracy answerable to the people by it : elected members got the right to call Government officials to account if they wronged the people.

Besides these most memorable reforms, Jinnah was responsible for the successful passage of many other useful laws.

The Congress now became convinced that Jinnah's constitutional method was the best. Interestingly enough, in 1919 Congressmen entered the Assemblies as *swarajist* members of the *Swaraj* Party, Jinnah sitting in the Opposition in the Independent Group.

He gave one more forward-push to the Indian struggle for civil liberties by calling upon the Government to set up a Royal Commission to inquire how far the official bodies that had elected representatives of the people on them were adequate for them. The Commission might thus find out if they really expressed the will of the people ; they could discuss what they wanted, and have the power to have it through law.

On this issue the *Swarajists* joined hands with the elected members of the Assembly. With their help,

Jinnah was able to make the Assembly accept his demand that the rights of minorities be protected.

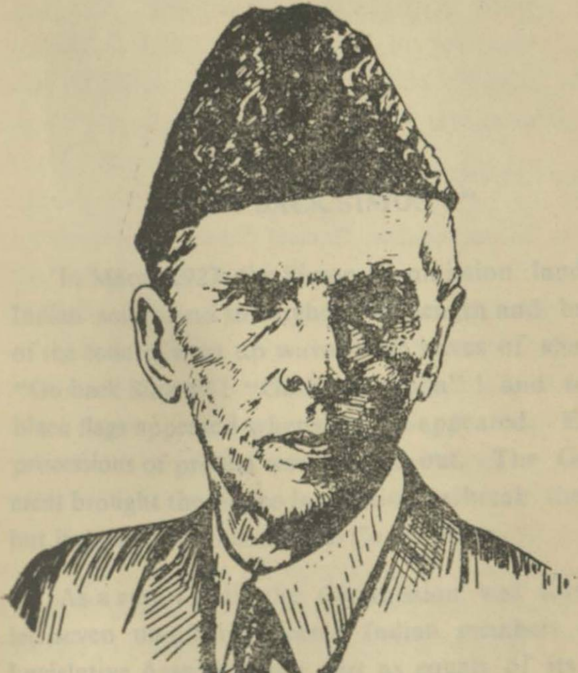
The unfortunate chain of communal riots brought out two facts clearly. First, that Hindus were deadly against Separate Electorates being given to Muslims ; secondly, that Separate Electorates were necessary for protecting Muslims from the cruelties of Hindus. "Mixed Electorates", Jinnah said, "could not create nationalism ; people would not become patriotic through them".

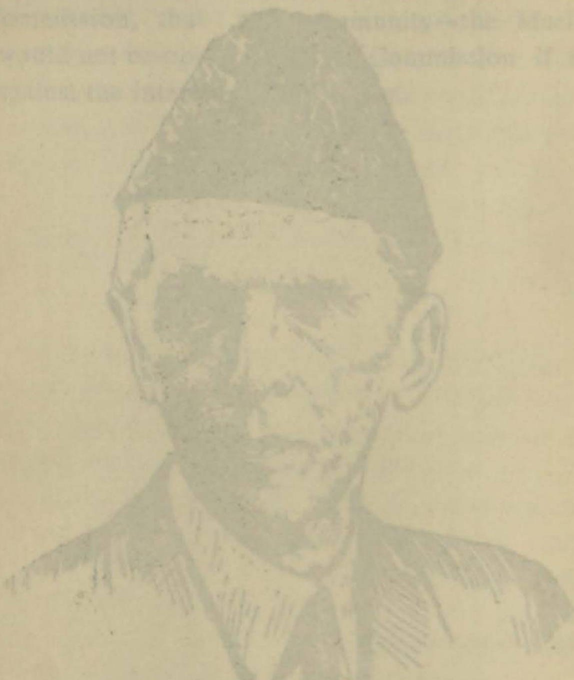
However, the British Government gave a surprise at it ; it began to move at Mr Jinnah's call for setting up a Royal Commission of Inquiry. The Government set it up to go into the question of Indian Reforms it had promised in 1919. But, instead of sending it to India in 1929, it sent it there in 1926, three years earlier than its promise.

Simon Commission :

Sir John Simon headed the Commission. M. A. Jinnah was the first to oppose it tooth and nail. For, in his words, "it denies the right of the Indian people to participate on equal terms in framing the constitution of the country." Hence he urged its boycott. And the Government conspired, as usual, to sabotage it. On the other hand, Jinnah declared confidentally,

on coming to know that some unpatriotic person from the Punjab and Bengal had agreed to co-operate with the Commissson, that this community—the Muslims—would not co-operate with the Commission if it went against the interest of the country.





12

" GO BACK SIMON ! "

In March 1927, the Simon Commission landed on Indian soil. And throughout the length and breadth of the country went up waves after waves of shouts of "Go back Simon" ! "Go back Simon" ! and seas of black flags appeared whereever it appeared. Endless processions of protest were taken out. The Government brought the police into action to break them up, but it failed ; so also did the Commission.

As a result of it, the Commission was forced to let seven un-official elected Indian members of the Legislative Assembly take part as equals of its seven white members in the discussions it wanted to hold. But M. A. Jinnah was not to be taken in by such tricks of the Commission, At his call, the non-official members refused to elect their nominees, saying that "the composition and work of the Commission were unacceptable".

As a result of it, the Commission failed in its mission, the call of "Go Back Simon" succeeding in sending it back to England disappointed. This was a suitable time for M. A. Jinnah to take a holiday after the successful end of his agitation. So he left for England in May 1928 on a short visit.

After the Commission's return :

The failure of the Simon Commission and increasing differences among the leading politicians and parties of India called for a new approach. M. A. Jinnah had already made a beginning, in this respect earlier—in March 1927—at Delhi. Prominent Muslim leadeıs from all over India, having different points of view, attended it. It had taken the following decisions as important grounds for talks with other political parties in future : (a) Sind should be separated from Bombay and be made a separate Province ; (b) Reforms should be introduced in both the N.-W.F.P. and Baluchistan that should be given higher positions ; (c) Muslims should be granted representation according to their population. However, in the Central Legislature it should be one-third instead of one-fourth, as it was then.

In reply to it the Congress set up a Committee, headed by Moti Lal Nehru, to examine the proposals made by the Muslims in the light of Lucknow Pact of 1916.

Jinnah's New Call :

Meantime M. A. Jinnah called upon the Muslims to group themselves better and be united. For both the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha were joining hands to weaken Muslims, though the former still continued to pose as a nationalist organisation. But when the Nehru Report appeared, it deepened and confirmed Muslim fears instead of removing them. It refused to give Muslims weightage of 6% in the Central Legislative Assembly in which they had 27% or one-fourth representation. On the other hand, the Nehru Report did not give Muslims a right to proportional representation—according to their population—even in the provinces of the Punjab and Bengal in which they were in majority. It gave special weightage to Hindus in these provinces where they were in a minority, but did not apply this principle in the case of Muslims. It also opposed Muslims' demand for giving extra powers to the provinces instead of the centre.

Further, the Report wanted that the separation of Sind and turning it into a province and introducting some reforms in the N.-W.F.P. should be put off till the Indians themselves framed their own constitution. As the League was growing bigger, with more and more Muslims joining it as its members, the Congress started wider propaganda against it to bring it a bad name. For it had also some Muslim

followers, as a result of which it claimed to be representative of the Muslims most outstanding among whom were Abul Kalam Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari and others. There were other Muslim leaders also who belonged to other small parties.

However, even many sensible and powerful members of the Congress agreed with Jinnah's criticism of the Nehru Report. Jinnah stuck to it finally and firmly, calling upon the Congress even at the All-Parties Convention held at Calcutta in December 1928, to accept the League's demands and declared that it was not the question of getting only three extra seats over and above the ones the Congress had agreed to give the Muslim League that was important. The Nehru Report was prepared to grant 27% seats, whereas the Muslim League demanded 33% of them. The difference of 6% came to three seats only.

"Part as Friends" :

There were other more-eighty factors than such weightage as the League had pointed out, but the Nehru Report had turned down, at least for the time being. Jinnah urged that they were fair "because we are all sons of this land, we have to live together. If we cannot agree, let us at any rate, agree to differ, but let us, part as friends—". How Jinnah foretold the future division of the country into Hindustan and Pakistan ! But none doubted his sincerity. Even

Gandhi seemed to come round to his view, but expressed his inability to grant three extra seats on behalf of the Congress. Thus "eventually the political future of India was buried in a coffin marked 'three seats' ! ". Moti Lal Nehru undid all the good done by the Lucknow Pact and darkened the future of India.

However, Jinnah called the League decision about it as its basic principle. Unfortunately, the Nehru Report created a rift in the League. Therefore Jinnah now set about removing it. At the same time he arranged a special meeting between the representatives of the League as well those of the Congress. For the Congress had now threatened to use force with the British to have the Nehru Report accepted in full as it claimed, in March 1919, that it contained the "will of the nation", and would accept Dominion Status rather than complete independence. This was what Jinnah had also asked for, in the first place, through Hindu-Muslim unity. The Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha joined hands to fight independently and by strongly opposing the League demands for separation of Sind from Bombay and introduction of reforms in the N.-W.F.P. and Baluchistan.

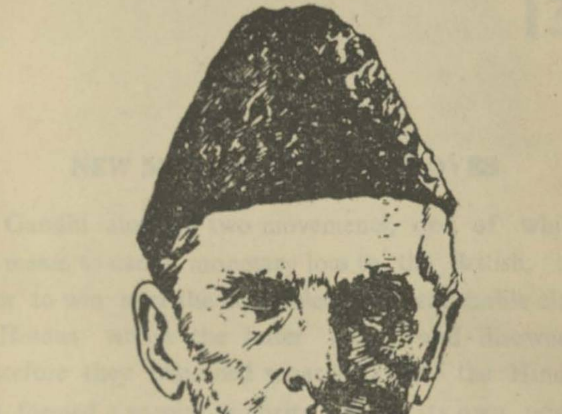
League Puts her Foot Down :

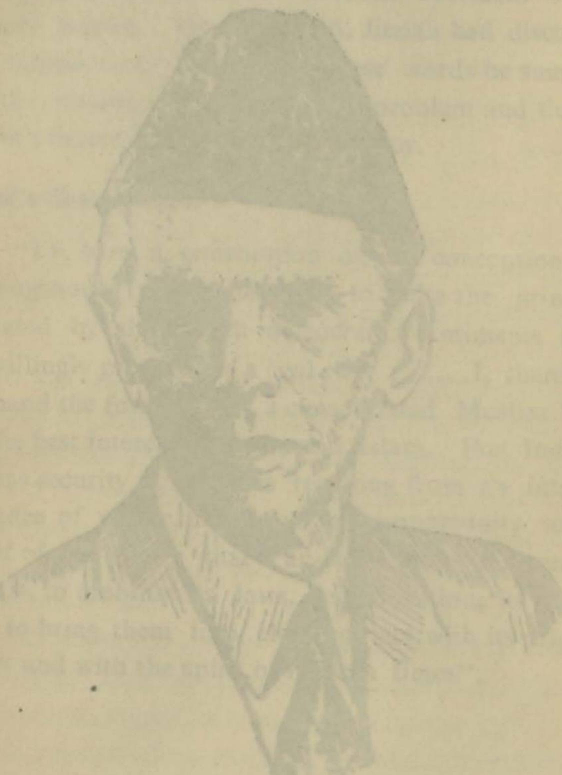
In view of such opposition of the Congress, the Muslim League decided to take her own course of

action. Allama Iqbal showed her light in such a dark hour in his historic address that he delivered at Allahabad in December 1930 as President of its annual session. He and M. A. Jinnah had discussed its "guide-lines" before. In these words he summed up the solution of Hindu-Muslim problem and that of India's future as against British policy.

Iqbal's Beacon Light :

"To base a constitution on the conception of a homogenous India or to apply to India the principle dictated by the British democratic sentiments is to unwillingly prepare for a civil war ....I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of India and Islam. For India it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power, for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Pan-Islamism was forced to give it, to mobilise its laws, its education, its culture and to bring them into close contact with its original spirit and with the spirit of modern times".





13

NEW MOVEMENTS AND MOVES

Gandhi launched two movements, one of which was meant to cause monetary loss to the British, the other to win over the Scheduled or Untouchable class of Hindus whom the latter hated and disowned. Therefore they remained separate from the Hindus and formed a special minority having its own power to vote for its representatives in the elections. The Hindus called them *Shudras* or Untouchables. Gandhi condemned such outlook of the Hindus because it was inhuman. Apart from it, if *shudras* were given their rights as Hindus, they would cast their votes for the Congress which would thus become a much bigger majority than it was. Thereby the Muslims would be reduced to a small minority and the Congress would be able to have its opposition in its stride.

These movements were called 'Boycott of Foreign Cloth' and 'Removal of Untouchability' movements.

As most of the cloth was English—made-in and forced by England on Indians—by refusing to buy it Indians would deprive England of a very large income from it.

Round Table Conference :

Gandhi's movements were, as such, dangerous. M. A. Jinnah as well as the Muslims understood them. The former also thought out a new move to safeguard the Muslims and continue the struggle for national independence in a constitutional way. Therefore he made a move to speak direct to the British Government about the League position. He personally knew Ramsey Mc Donald. He wrote to him that the British policy towards India since 1924 and after the Simon Commission had convinced Indian leaders that Great Britain was not sincere towards India. Therefore he strongly asked him to call a Round Table Conference of responsible, leading Indian political leaders in order that they might sit down together and solve the Indian problem by mutual discussion.

Led by Gandhi, the Congress at first opposed it unless Great Britain granted Dominison Status to India and released her political prisoners. However, Jinnah succeeded in getting the support of two leading Indian leaders, namely, Moti Lal Nehru and Vallabh Bhai Patel. Both of them belonged to the

Congress. But Gandhi wanted prior assurance from the Viceroy. Regardless of him, Jinnah, Nehru and Patel met the Viceroy in this connection.

The Viceroy replied that he was unable to give the assurance required by Gandhi but agreed to release the political workers arrested on account of the political agitation launched by the Congress at Gandhi's call. On hearing this reply, Gandhi threatened to start a yet bigger agitation. However, Jinnah hopefully replied that the Round Table Conference would prove useful. Lord Irwin, the then Viceroy, later assured the members of the Central Legislative Assembly, including Jinnah, that the views of the Indian representatives would be seriously taken by the Conference.

First Round Table Conference :

Thus the First Round Table Conference was held on 12th December 1930. Of the fifty-seven Indian leaders who attended it, sixteen were Muslims : M.A. Jinnah, The Agha Khan, Maulana Muhammad Ali and others. Begum Shah Nawaz was the only Muslim lady representative.

Jinnah was among the first who spoke on its opening. His broad outlook and sincerity of purpose were clear from it : "...........I hope...........that all the parties and interests and communities will bring

to bear upon the task before us all the assurance of mutual trust, practical sagacity and statesmanship which they can command—I am glad we are here to witness the birth of a new Dominion of India".

The Conference broke up into nine committees, Jinnah deciding to serve on three of them : Federal Structure, Defence, and Sind. He proved very useful to them.

The narrow-minded and anti-Muslim Hindus did not let the Conference bear fruit, though Jinnah and The Agha Khan went so far as to accept joint electorates and let Muslim Provinces, in a way, join hands with the Hindus under a common Government. But the latter did not promise any protection to the Muslim minority provinces. Therefore the Conference failed. A famous Hindu leader-author remarked about it later that the history of India would have been different if Hindus had been reasonable at the Conference.

Second Round Table Conference :

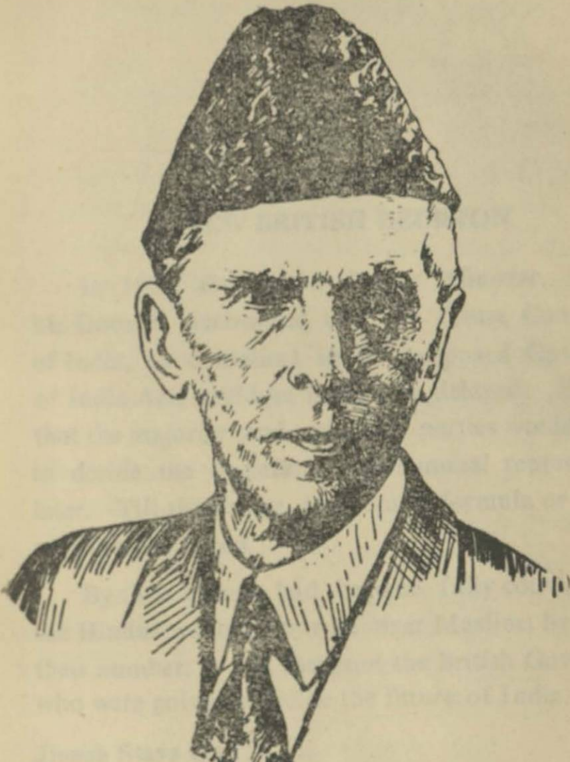
In 1931, the new British Government called the Second Round Table Conference. It also succeeded in getting Gandhi agree to attend it. Meanwhile the Minorities Committee of the Conference tried to remove the differences of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. Jinnah and Muhammad Shafi were on the Muslim side, Gandhi on that of the Congress, the latter

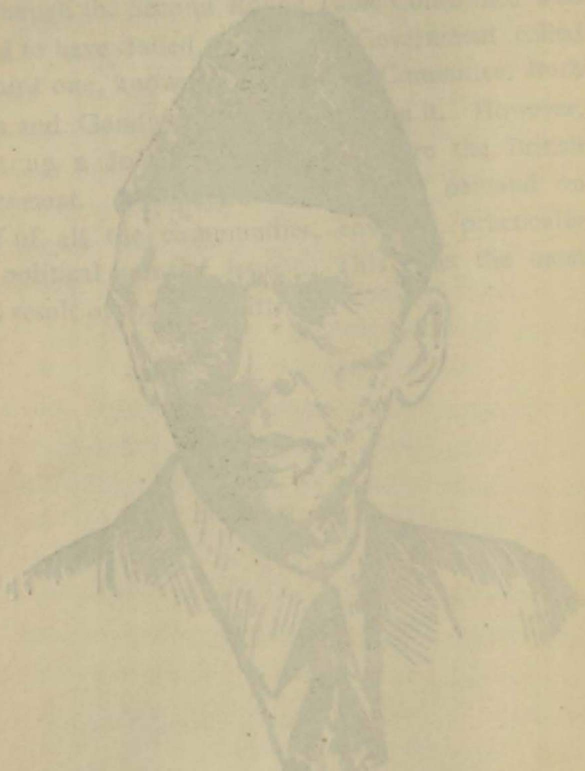
refusing to give up its stand of One-nation theory. Muslims had become wise enough not to accept their "political suicide" when they, like the Hindus, came to realise that they were a different nation, not just a community, a part of the Indian nation. Actually, staunch Hindus had called upon their community to "throw the Muslims across the Indus" or convert them to Hinduism or completely finish them off. Gandhi had once told The Agha Khan that *Swaraj* could be achieved by the "association of free States" (of India), virtually meaning a sort of Pakistan.

The Second Round Table Conference was also a failure. Therefore Gandhi declared that Hindu-Muslim unity would naturally appear after they got *Swaraj* rather than serve as its foundation. Inspite of it Jinnah made two clear and deep impressions by his work at the Conference. First, by his charming personality, power of public speaking and reasoning by which he could effectively present his point of view. Secondly, a leading British newspaper made a surprising comment on his efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity because both the communities suspected him : the Muslims took him to be a Congressite, while the Congressites thought him to be a Leaguer. Unfortunately, none of these critics understood him ; he was a realistic nationalist. He was both a patriot and a Muslim, concerned about the interests of both.

Third Round Table Conference :

Though the Second Round Table Conference also seemed to have failed, the British Government called the third one, known as Joint Select Committee. Both Jinnah and Gandhi did not take part in it. However, it put up a Joint Memorandum before the British Government. It contained a "united demand on behalf of all the communities, covering practically every political point at issue". This was the most useful result of the Committee.





14

NEW BRITISH DECISION

In 1932, the British Prime Minister, Ramsey Mc Donald, announced that the future Constitution of India, as contained in its proposed Government of India Act, could no longer be delayed. He hoped that the majority and minority parties would be able to decide the question of communal representation later. Till then some temporary formula or solution would be enforced.

By then Jinnah had become fully convinced that the Hindus wanted to rule over Muslims by force of their number. It was they, not the British Government, who were going to decide the future of India.

Jinnah Stays On :

Therefore Jinnah chose to settle down in England so that he might watch political developments there as well as carry on legal practice. He made a new analysis of the Hindu mind in the light of the Round Table

Conference talks. "I assure you," he said, "that unless Hindus will have the courage and confidence—they are afraid of Muslims—India will never get *Swaraj.*"

During his stay in Enlgand, Miss Fatima Jinnah was with him.

All the time India was in his mind. So he wrote to a dear and trusted Bengali friend, Matin Chowdary, "I am more settled here, doing my work and I am getting on nicely, but my heart is in India".

Home Call :

At the call of India and the Muslim League, he returned home in October 1934. The League had felt his absence badly, with the result that he was elected President of the Council of All-India Muslim League, which was now faced with settling the Communal Award with the Hindus. Jinnah again got i n touch with Hindu leaders. As he said again, with unity they could force Britain to given an acceptable constitution to India.

Returns :

Unfortunately, differences between the two could not be patched up and Jinnah had to return to England disappointed. By the time General Elections came closer in 1934. Some important political events had taken place. Gandhi had taken a fast unto death

to bring back the scheduled caste into the Hindu fold. He succeeded in making it give up its claim to separate electorates and to remain in the Hindu fold.

By then some of the leading Congressmen came round to Jinnah's view that they should not boycott elections. They should take part in them so as to enter the Council and fight the Government from there. To top all, those Muslims who had split into two bodies, the All-India Muslim League and the All-India Muslim Conference, made a common cause in fighting the election hand in hand. Their demands were : (1) Representation of Muslims in the services ; (2) Separation of Sind ; (3) Reforms in Baluchistan.

Bring Back Jinnah :

So the hour struck to call back Jinnah from London. He was the only recognised, trusted and able Muslim leader who could guide Muslims in waging a constitutional fight with the Hindus and the British. Abdul Matin Chowdary and Liaquat Ali Khan, two of the leading members of the League, pressed him to return. The latter went to London personally to persuade him to come back.

Independent Group :

Thus Mr Jinnah returned to India sometime in October 1934, and was elected unopposed to the Central Assembly. There he formed an Independent

Group of 22 which elected him its leader. Of this Group, 18 were Muslims. Interestingly enough, the Congress Swarajist Party also had 22 members. Amidst all of the non-official parties the Independent Group had a decisive position.

As expected, the two major pro-Congress and pro-Muslim Groups showed sharp differences of views on the Communal Award. Mr. Jinnah succeeded in getting his two amendments accepted by a fair majority. In this way he brought home to the Congress the great need for communal unity. As he said, "half the battle for India's freedom would be won" by achieving it.

Sudden Attack :

But the Congress Hindu Press launched an endless attack against him, calling him an "enemy" of India's freedom. Seeing that the Congress had not changed its attitude, Mr Jinnah returned to England to resume his legal practice there.

During his stay in England the Government of India Act 1935, based on the reforms contained in the 1919 Act, was passed by the British Government. Though some proposals had been made by the Congress to change it, it had turned it down in toto. But the Government did not care for them. However, Mr Jinnah had most sharply criticised the Act as being aimed at protecting British trade. As such it would almost definitely harm Indian trade.

Returns to India :

On return to India in October 1935 he gave this opinion about the Act. None the less he called upon the League session at Bombay to accept the Provincial part of it. Constitutions, he remarked, were not permanent and asked the Government to examine its Federal part again.

All-India Tour :

Such temporary and part-acceptance of the 1935 Act angered the Hindu Press into attacking the League. Unafraid, Mr Jinnah set out on a country-wide tour of India to tell the Muslims the right position.

With the exception of Sind, most of the influential Muslim leaders of the Punjab, Bengal and N.-W.F.P. were against Mr. Jinnah and the League. The N.-W.F.P. had a Congress Ministry, while the Punjab had a mixed one with which non-Muslims had much influence. Its Ministry was pro-Government as well as pro-landlords and pro-businessmen consisting of Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and other minorities.

However, like the Muslim majority provinces of N. West India, Bengal was also a Muslim majority province. Its Ministry could not be made without Muslim support.

Mr Jinnah undertook a country-wide tour to unite Muslims under the flag of the All-India Muslim League only. Fot it alone truly represented them.

The political situation in the Punjab was unusual due to the Sikh problem. Sikhs were the largest minority in this province because they had their origin there. They were troublesome. Mr Jinnah had to keep all these factors in mind in his efforts to reorganise Muslims. Allama Iqbal was keeping him well informed about the Punjab affairs in particular as he lived in Lahore and was President of the Punjab Muslim League. He had written to Mr Jinnah that he was the only Muslim leader who could save the Muslims of India.

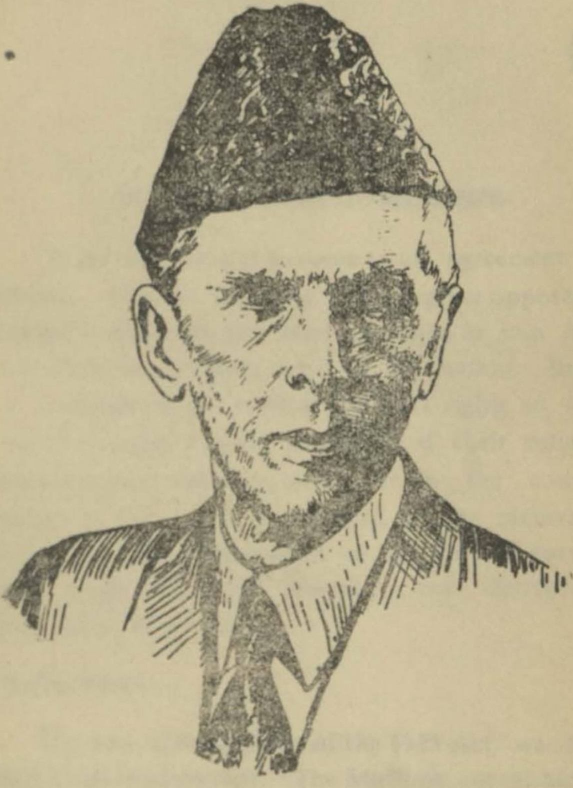
In Bengal, where the Muslim League had taken birth in 1906 at Dacca, much greater effort was required to draw Muslims away from the Hindus. Ever since the betrayal and defeat of Siraj-ud-Daula in the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the Bengali Muslims had been growing from bad to worse. They had been crushed and exploited by the British and the Hindus as well. It is noteworthy that the first Hindi-Muslim riots in India occurred in Bengal. It was the result of Beard Tax imposed on the Muslims by one Rai Kishan Rai Purnea, an agent of the East India Company. The Company sent its troops to help him. There, in order to ruin the the economy of Bengal, it made paupers of Muslims. The Company got the h ands of weavers of

world-famous Dacca Muslim cut off and saw to it that only Hindus advanced in every way.

The League had decided to fight elections to the Provincial Assemblies to make the most of the Provincial part of the 1935 Act. Mr Jinnah did not let the grass grow under his feet in asking influential and sincere Bengali Muslim Leaguers to recoganise the Muslim League there. Previously the New Majlis had done some work for the protection of the rights of Bengali Muslims, but its scope was narrow.

It had now become crystal-clear that the Hindus and Muslims belonged to two separate nations. Sir Sayed had poined this out first. Allama Iqbabl now came to the definite conclusion after his Allahabad address to the League. He later said, "......in order to make it possible for Muslims of India to solve the problem (of Hindu-Muslim quarrel) it is necessary to re-distribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim States with absolute majorities".

In his campaign, Mr. Jinnah asked the League to keep away from a handfull of those Muslims who were against it. This is how the Congress attempt, under Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, to create disunity in the League, met with ever more failure.





15

MUSLIM FEARS COME TRUE

Jinnah did his best to come to an agreement with Hindus. Though they and the Congress opposed the League's demands, the latter continued to join hands with them for the betterment of the nation. Besides its demands for the grant of political rights to Muslims, the League wanted protection of their religious, economic and cultural ones. As to the common struggle of the two, it was aimed at the removal of oppressive laws, betterment of the lot of common man, grant of civil liberties, and decrease in government expenses.

Muslim Fears :

The new Constitution of the 1935 Act was to be shortly enforced in part. The Muslims got affraid, of the coming Congress ministries. For the Hindus, being in majority, intolerant and hateful of Muslims, would trample them under their feet.

It proved to be true. For the Congress refused to side with the League in forming ministries where it (the Congress) was in majority. Reason ? The Congress wanted blind obedience. On the other hand, Mr Jinnah had declared readiness of the League to co-operate with any party which shared its aims and objects. The Congress did invite the Muslim League to join Congress ministries. It was on the condition that they either obeyed its commands or better resigned their membership of the League. It tried to finish off the Muslim League in this way in U.P. But Mr. Jinnah's timely interference saved it. Influenced by Allama Iqbal and the wrongs done to Muslims in the five provinces where the Congress was in majority, Mr. Jinnah got busy in setting the League house in order. As a result of it he became the unchallenged leader—the Quaid—of Muslim India. Now he rightly claimed that only the League had a right to speak for Muslims.

Pirpur Report :

The Congress as well as the Hindus in general began to ill-treat Muslims all the more. The Muslim League went into Muslim charges against the Congress Ministries. They were found true and published as Pir Pur Report. The Congress had, among the other wrongs in question, forced Muslims to sing Vande Matram, a Hindu song ; salute its flag ; and adopt Hindi in place of Urdu. Muslim boys had been forced

to worship idols and the Hindu Press launched a harsh anti-Muslim campaign.

In reply to these charges the Congress high command tried to explain its position to the Quaid. On the face of it, it wanted to settle such issues with the League which, in its turn, asked it to recognise it as such. Further, the League urged the Congress to protect the minorities also.

As many Congress leaders and historians later admitted, the Congress turned down the League's proposals to settle down their differences, only to accept them in 1947. It lost the last opportunity on account of its arrogance, selfishness, short-sightedness and intolerance. Pandit Nehru made another political blunder in declaring that "there are only two parties in the country—the Congress and the British". "No", the Quaid refused. "There is a third party—namely, the Mussalmans".

The Muslim League was becoming alive and kicking due to the efforts of the Quaid and his lieutenants working hard and sincerely under him. Muslim masses had woken up! The general elections, held in the country under India Act 1935, made it more active. A grand annual session of the League was held in October 1937 at Lucknow.

Jinnah Cap :

Fifty thousand people attending the session keenly awaited the Quaid to appear on the stage and address them. To the wild welcome and pleasing approval by all, he appeared with a cap for his headgear instead of being generally bare-headed. He had jovially tried on his host, Maharaja of Mahmudabad's cap and liked it on consulting the mirror. The Maharaja felt honoured for having presented it as a gift to him. This is how the Jinnah Cap originated and caught on later. It looked beautiful with the *shalwar* and *achkan* the Quaid was wearing on this occasion. It turned out to be the symbol of Pakistan.

Then he delivered a very challenging speech at the session, confidentally declaring that only the League represented the Muslims. The Congress took it as a declaration of war against it.

World War II :

And Word War II was not far away. When it came in the middle of 1939, the Congress took it as a golden opportunity to make the most of. Germany's Hitler wanted to destory Great Britain, her empire and her Allies, the whole of Europe except Italy, Soviet Union joining the Allies later. Japan was on Germany's side. In its very first sweeping attack Germany conquered many countries including

France and Czechoslovakia. Japan planned to conquer India and other British colonies in the Far East.

Towards the end of 1939, the Congress tried to take a common stand with the League towards the War. As expected, talks between the two, respectively led by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and the Quaid, failed. For their political "outlook and objections" were different. Both knew that Britain needed India's help badly. The Congress threatened to start civil disobedience if it did not promise to grant India independence after the war. The League replied, on the other hand, that if the Government gave way before the Congress, it would start an opposite movement. Being in power in five provinces and having combined ministries in two others with the co-operation of other political parties and independent members, it had become very proud and strong. The Quaid now guarded the Muslims all the more lest they should become subjects of Hindus after the British left India. Only the League could protect the Muslims. Therefore he called upon the Muslims to "mobolise (their) forces like a disciplined army ; victory will be ours". Loyalty to the League was essential for it.

The Disloyal :

The Quaid never excused disloyalty. That is why he strictly dealt with A. K. Fazal-ul-Haq and the

Nawab of Dacca from Bengal and Sir Sikander Hayat Khan and Sir Khizer Hayat Khan (later) from the Punjab.

Fazal Haq had let down the League in order to form a combined ministry with the help of Hindus, though he had many good personal qualities. He disobeyed the Quaid's instructions for the sake of becoming the Chief Minister of Bengal. After apologizing to the Quaid and the League High Command he again disobeyed, to repent again. The Nawab of Dacca also weakened the League by not actively helping it in the beginning.

Sir Sikander Hayat was not only an ambitious but also a clever and cunning politician. He was a landlord, highly pro-Government and pro-non-Muslim with whose support he ruled the Unionist Party and became its Chief Minister. Though he also joined the Muslim League, in his heart of hearts as well as behaviour he remained pro-British. Secretly, he set up the Zamindara League.

Allama Iqbal warned the Quaid against such moves of Sikander that were aimed at weakening the League. The Quaid gave Sikander Hayat the long rope and let the League gather enough strength so as to make his plans and moves fruitless.

All along, the Allies had been faring baldy in the war. Germany was bent upon destroying Britain by

repeated attacks and also conquering her colonies to plunder their wealth.

League's Battle-cry ! :

The League had now become a powerful, well-organised organisation. When the time was ripe for it to openly challenge both the Congress and the Government, the Quaid gave the battle-cry most clearly.

March 23, 1940 ! At Lahore, such Resolution was passed at the League's annual session. The Congress and the Hindu Press called it "Pakistan Resolution".

At first Sikander Hayat was asked to write it as he was a member of the League Council and was from the Punjab. His draft was disapproved because it was pro-Government and pro-non-Muslim for he was not sincere. He proved it. The thought behind the Lahore Resolution went as far back as Sir Sayed who was the first Muslim to declare that Hindus and Muslims were different communities.

Even British leaders like Birkenhead had drawn attention to this fact. Kheri Brothers, Chaudhry Rehmat Ali and, to top all, Allama Iqbal had strongly believed that Hindus and Muslims were two different nations. Their future lay in having a kind of separate States, either within or without India. So the Lahore Resolution was a clear expression of such a demand.

Unlike before, the Quaid made an unwritten speech as the President of the session. Some of its most important points, in his words, were, "Mussalmans are a nation by any definition—the problem in India is not inter-communal but manifestly of an international character—Muslim India cannot accept any constitution which must result in Hindu majority Government—"

Maulvi Fazal-ul-Haq, the Chief Minister of Bengal, then moved the Resolution. It went on to say "that no constitutional plan would be workable in the country or be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constitutional units should be autonomous and soverign."

The Resolution was supported by a handful of loyal and devoted Muslim Leaguers like Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Sirdar Aurangzeb Khan, Qazi Muhammad Isa, Sir Abdullah Haroon and others.

Vivisection of India :

The Congress and other Hindu leaders as well as

their Press went hammer and tongs at the Resolution which they called "Pakistan Resolution". Gandhi and others described it as 'vivisection of India'.

When the Quaid's opponents asked him its details and hidden meaning, he kept quiet telling them to accept the principle of separation first.

Basis of League Co-operation :

First quarter of 1940 : Germany gave a terrible defeat to England in the beginning. So much so, it was feared that Germany might succeed in invading it any time. The people of India welcomed it at large. They thought they would get freedom by Hitler's victories over the British. But Hitler was a Fascist dictator, So was Italy's Mussolini. Pandit Nehru, therefore, remarked "England's difficulty is not India's opportunity".

Then the Muslim League was still in office, running the governments of those provinces which had Muslim majority. Further, 60% of the Indian Army consisted of Muslims. But the British Government wanted full support from the Indian people. When it approached the League for it, the Quaid replied, "Unless a satisfactory basis for close co-operation is agreed upon on an All-India basis". And in a separate interview with the Viceroy he told him clearly the conditions on which the League would co-operate with the Government :

(1) It must have a definite part to play in the Central Government ;

(2) League nominees must be included in the War Council. Sanction of the Congress would not be necessary.

Two Dangerous Enemies :

Sir Sikander Hayat Khan and Fazal-ul-Haq were two most dangerous enemies of the League within its fold. As the Quaid said about them, "every time the dish is cooked and is about to be served to the Muslim nation, they knock it down in the middle and ruin much labour and planning which have gone into its preparation". So he was only waiting for proper time to throw them out.

For Sikander it came in July 1942 when the Quaid announced the new Working Committee. Sikander's name was not in it. As to Fazal-ul-Haq, he was given time to dig his own grave, commit another blunder so as to be got rid of.

Another Traitor :

Sir Khizer Hayat succeeded Sir Sikander Hayat as the Chief Minister of the Punjab after the latter's death. He was the biggest land-lord and one of the most loyal servants of the British, as was his most favoured family. Though he was a member of

the Muslim League, he was openly opposed to its demands for Pakistan and attempted to destroy the League with the help of Hindu and Sikh members of the Unionist Party of which he was the leader. The Quaid had to dispose him of also. Unlike Sikander Hayat Khan, he greatly lacked in intelligence and tact.

the Muslim League, he was openly opposed to its demands for Pakistan and attempted to destroy the League with the help of Hindu and Sikh members of the Unionist Party of which he was the leader. The Quaid had to dispose him of soon. Unlike Sikander Hayat Khan, he greatly lacked in intelligence and [illegible].

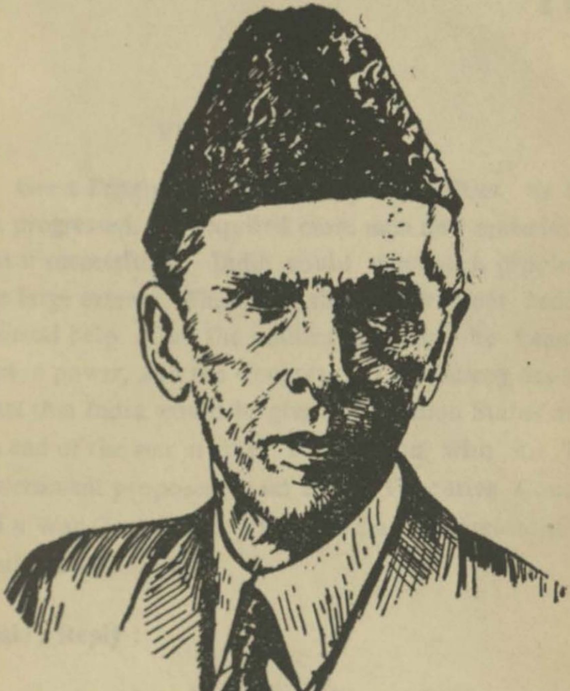
Two Dangerous Enemies

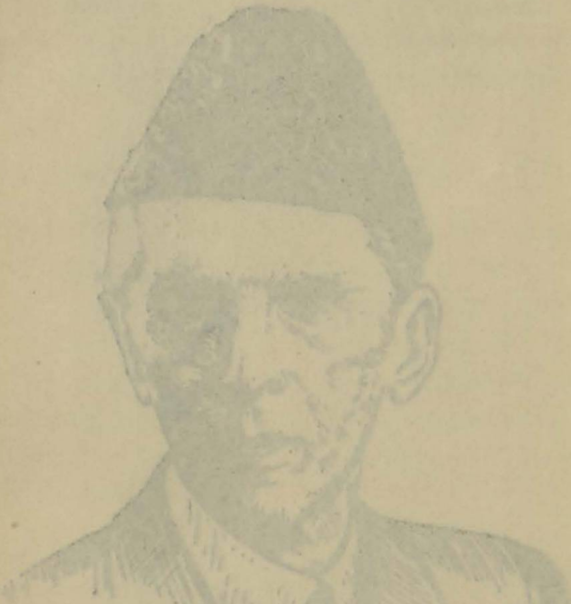
Sir Sikander Hayat Khan and Fazl-ul-Haq were two most dangerous enemies of the League within its fold. As the Quaid said about them, "Every time the [illegible] is booked and is about to be [illegible] to the Muslim nation, they knock it down in the middle and ruin all the labour and planning which have gone into its preparation". So he was only waiting for proper time to throw them out.

For Sikander it came in July 1942 when the Quaid announced the new Working Committee. Sikander's name was not in it. As to Fazl-ul-Haq, he was given time to dig his own grave. [illegible] another blunder [illegible] was got rid of.

Khizar Traitor

Sir Khizar Hayat succeeded Sir Sikander Hayat as Chief Minister of the Punjab after the latter's death. He was the biggest landlord and one of the most loyal servants of the British, as was [illegible] whole family. Though a [illegible] member of





16

VICEROY'S OFFER

Great Britain faced increasing difficulties as the war progressed. It required more men and material to fight it successfully. India could meet such problems to a large extent. Therefore the Government needed political help of all the political parties, the League, then in power, and the Congress. The Viceroy assured them that India would be given Dominion Status after the end of the war if they co-operated with it. The Government proposed to set up an Executive Council and a War Council to which Indian representatives would be appointed.

Quaid's Reply :

The Quaid replied that so far as Muslim representatives were concerned, only Muslim League nominees would be acceptable to it. Moreover, the future constitution of India should be based on two independent and soverign States.

August Offer :

On the other hand the Viceroy replied that both the parties should help fully in the "struggle against tyranny and aggression". Then he reminded them that only Dominion Status was the final goal of India. However, if the two parties did not co-operate, he would go ahead in forming the War Advisory Council. As to the minorities, he assured them that he would not allow the majority to get the upper hand over them. Thereby he meant the Congress. But the two must be united to carry on the war fully.

Both the Congress and the League turned down this offer, called the August Offer. In this respect Gandhi wrote to the Viceroy that its "implications frighten us". That is, the Government had put the League on an equal footing with the Congress and treated them as different organisations.

Rejection by the Quaid :

The Quaid first met the Viceroy and discussed with him the August Offer. Afterwards, he informed him of its rejection by the Working Committe for these reasons : (1) Only the required representatives of the League on the Governor General's Council were not enough and the number to be added later was unknown ; (2) If any other party later on chose to

join the Executive Council, the position of the League members would become risky ; (3) In those provinces, which were under Governor's rule, the representatives of the League as non-official advisers, the latter's position should be made safe, they should not be harmed or turned out without serious action being taken against their enemies ; (4) The War Council had not yet been formed, its number not fixed and the rules not yet formed.

Mighty Storm :

In the middle of 1941, German forces were sweeping on towards Suez Canal like a mighty storm. Greece had fallen. Like a fan, the Germans were spreading out towards Africa. Japan, Germany's ally in the Far East, was over-running South-East Asia. It had conquered Burma and Singapore, and now its armies were close to the gates of India.

Messenger of Peace :

In view of such conditions of war, Great Britain sent Sir Stafford Cripps as "messenger of peace" to India. He was a personal friend of Nehru and known to the Congress. He came with a formula in outline. It made the fol!owing promises to India : (1) Grant of Dominions Status after the end of the war ; (2) Making a constitution by the Constituent Assembly of India elected by its representatives according to certain

rules and methods, and its enforcement; (3) The provinces not willing to join the Centre under it would have the right to keep out and form its separate union. Till then a Coalition Government would work at the Centre. Its Cabinet would mainly consist of nominees of the Congress and the League.

"Post-dated Cheque" :

Gandhi called it "Sinful, criminal, a post-dated cheque on a bank which is about to crash". Close quarters knew what he meant actually. That Britain was about to be defeated. Therefore, it was useless to carry on discussions with Cripps.

On the other hand, the League was both doubtful and happy at the talks he had had with the Quaid. First, Cripps had discussed matters more with the Congress than with the League. On the whole, he kept their outcome secret. Secondly, he had given the clear impression that neither party should expect any big change in those circumstances. Then the League Working Committee, presided over by the Quaid, raised the following remarkable objections to the Cripps Plan: (1) In the provinces of the Punjab and Bengal they were in majority but were in a minority in their Assemblies. As against it, in Sind and N.-W.F.P. they were in majority of 60% and 50% respectively. This total number was so small that

non-Muslims had been given special weightage there. But the Cripps Plan said that the provinces which had a majority of less than 60% had the choice to decide by public voting, whether or not they wished to join the Union. The biggest danger for Muslims lay there. As the League pointed out, in either case 60% was not a fair limit for judging public opinion.

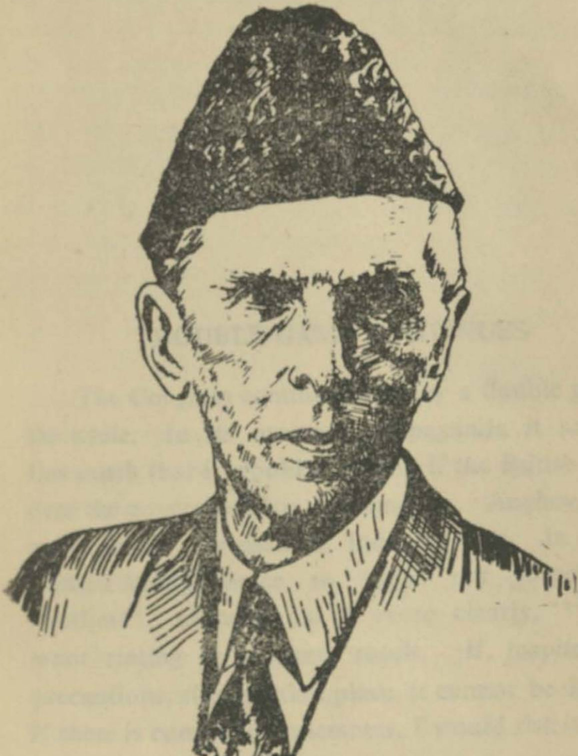
Secondly, the Muslims were not given the right to decide their future but the whole population was given it. This included the Hindus.

Besides, the semi-independent states, ruled by princes, were also a problem. The Quaid, however, discussed it with some of their leaders to know their ideas about their future.

non-Muslims had been given special weightage there. But the Congress Plan said that the provinces which had a majority of less than 60% had the choice to decide by public asking, whether or not they wished to join the Union. The biggest danger for Muslims lay here. As the League pointed out, in this case 60% was not a fair limit for judging public opinion.

Secondly, the Muslims were not given the right to decide their future but the whole population was given it. This included the Hindus.

Besides, the semi-independent states, ruled by princes, were also a problem. The Quaid, however, discussed it with some of their leaders to guide them about their future.





17

DOUBLE GAME CONTINUES

The Congress continued to play a double game all the while. In its overseas propaganda it said even this much that it would not mind if the British handed over the government to the Muslims. Anyhow, India must get it : immediate independence. In fact, it wanted independence to "fight our quarrels with Muslims". Gandhi put it more clearly, "I do'nt want rioting as a direct result. If, inspite of all precautions, rioting takes place, it cannot be helped— If there is complete lawlessness, I would risk it".

"Quit India" :

Shortly after, he gave his memorable ultimatum tothe British :—"Quit India"! In its wake a violent,

instead of peaceful, anti-British storm arose throughout the country. It meant loot, arson and refusal to work. It covered the services and spread to the ratings at the Bombay port.

Some members of the League also wanted to follow the Congress path in this respect. But the Quaid was too far-sighted, cool-headed and realistic to be swept off his feet. In 1942, at its Allahabad session the League empowered him to take any independent proper course of action. So that now he took whatever action he thought fit.

Quaid Challenged :

Like the Congress, some leading Muslim Leaguers got impatient with the British policy. They urged upon the Quaid to adopt the "Quit India" course of action. On the other hand, anothere set succeeded in checking them and allowed the Quaid only three months to follow this policy of "wait and watch", as urged by him. The Quaid confidentally replied that if it failed, he would resign from the Working Committee. But for one member, others supported him. This rebel member was G.M. Syed from Sind.

Shortly after, it was found that the Quaid was right : the Congress policy of "Quit India" was only a trap for the League aimed at destroying it. Even some leading Congress leaders admitted that the

"Quit India" movement had failed, the Congrgss had lost a golden opportunity and thus halted the constitutional struggle. This was what the Quaid had firmly believed all along. Some thoughtful Hindu leaders also thought on the same lines. One of them was Sir Rajagopalachari, popularly known as "C. R." He went to the extent of trying to create an understanding between the Congress and the League. To this end he persuaded Madras MLAs to pass a resolution to accept separation (Pakistan). The Congress got very angry at it and cursed these supporters and also the League. The League also used this opportunity and its Sind Ministry passed a clear-cut resolution for Pakistan and hoped that other Muslim ministries would follow suit.

But the Government needed India's help all the more at this hour. Sir Sikander, who never accepted the idea of Pakistan, joined the War Council instead of strengthening the Quaid's and the League's efforts to check this movement. However, it was at the Quaid's call only that he resigned.

Sir Sikander died in 1942. Sir Khizer Hayat Khan stepped into his shoes as the new Chief Minister of the Punjab. He continuously disobeyed the Quaid's instructions and League's demands—a new and greater danger to the Quaid's efforts to re-organise the League. But, with determination, the latter persevered in this task.

At the same time the Quaid called upon the British Government not to join hands with the Congress to force a federation on the country.

The Dawn :

The League suffered a great deal for lack of a standard newspaper in English. The Congress had many and well-established ones with a large circulation all over India. The League had only the Star of India, perhaps the only Daily in English, having one Weekly besides. Therefore the Quaid thought out a plan to bring out another. It was decided to bring it out from Delhi, the nerve-centre of Indian politics. M.A. Ispahani, a capable, honest and well-to-do friend and a Muslim Leaguer from Calcutta, helped realise this plan. The Quaid himself became its director by buying its required number of shares. It brought out the Dawn from Delhi. The Weekly Herald was merged in it.

The Dawn reflected the true voice of the Muslims and the League policy and proved a strong weapon for fighting against anti-League-Pakistan propaganda.

He Came to Kill :

On 26th July 1943, the Quaid was at Bombay. He was busy in some correspondence on important League matters. Every letter that he wrote or dictated about

it was a brick in the foundation of Pakistan he was laying. Apart from Pakistan's non-Muslim enemies, some Muslims also had turned against him.

Shortly after mid-noon, on 26th July 1943, when the Quaid was pre-occupied, a visitor—a stranger—insisted on meeting him. As he did not have a previous appointment, he was refused permission by the Pathan watchman. However, the stranger insisted on meeting the Quaid. The latter took him to Quaid's secretary who asked him the object of his visit. If important, he would arrange a meeting for him.

Meantime the Quaid himself walked into the room with an official paper in his hand. He came to ask something about it. On seeing him the visitor started abusing him. The Quaid was about to explain his position when the stranger whipped out a long knife and went at him with it. The Quaid immediately raised his arm to ward it off and caught hold of the assailant's wrist firmly. The latter was handed over to police. The Quaid received only slight injuries across his hand and chin.

The entire country, including non-Muslims, was shocked at it. The Quaid, however, treated it as a passing incident and an act of a semi-mad man. He thanked his well-wishers and God for saving his life to serve the cause of Muslims.

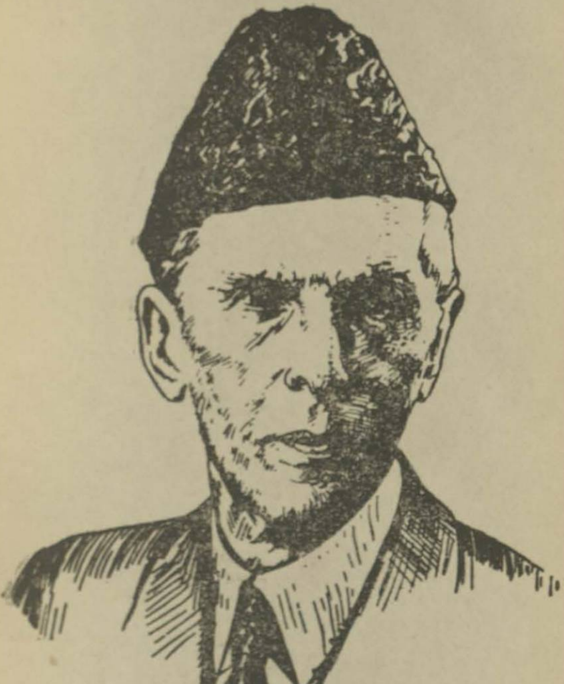
Lengthy Tour :

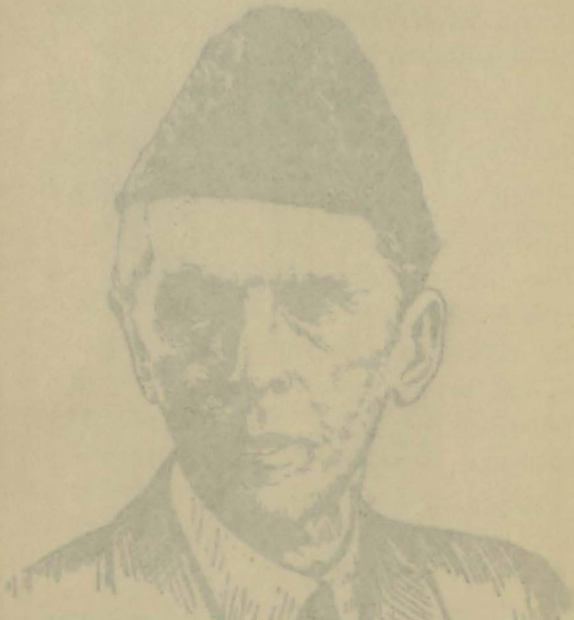
Khizer Hayat in the Punjab, G. M. Syed in Sind and Fazal-ul-Haq in Bengal were three head-aches for the League. Even otherwise the League affairs had to be set right in some provinces. Therefore the Quaid undertook a lengthy tour of these provinces. Khizer was very loyal to the British, but was against the League and Pakistan, though he was a member of the League. G. M. Syed was selfish. So also was Fazalul Haq. Both Khizer and Fazal-ul-Haq were following a selfish policy in being interested in their own chief ministership only, though at the cost of the League. They headed combined or coalition ministries. However, the position of Bengal was unusual. There, Fazal-ul-Haq had got the support of the Hindu Mahasabha group, which was led by Shyamaparsad Mukerji. Hindu Marwari *seths* pumped a lot of money in it.

The Opposition tried every method to bring the League a bad name. When famine appeared in Bengal, the Congress blamed the League majority party in the coalition for it. The Ispahani family was held responsible for it. For it had been given a contract for the purchase of rice from the richer areas of the country. As the Isphahani family was one of the pillars of the League in Bengal, the false charge was brought against it. But when challenged to

prove it, the Opposition failed. The Quaid was kept informed of the developments in this regard. By then he had replaced Fazal-ul-Haq by Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din and saw to it that this League Ministry was fully protected.

He paid a special visit to Bengal and made an extensive tour of it. His address to the provincial session of the League at Sirajganj proved life-giving for Muslims.





18

"DIVIDE AND QUIT"

By the end of 1943 the fortunes of war changed. The Allies began to get the upper hand on Hitler and his Axis' forces. On the other hand, the League grew from strength to strength. This was due to the inspiration and efforts of one man—the Quaid-i-Azam as he now came to be called by the Muslim Leaguers and the Muslims, on the whole.

Now his tireless work had begun to tell upon his health. During the Karachi session of the League, held in December 1943, he revealed it. However, he did not care for it but threw a bomb-shell. He called upon the British to 'Divide and Quit'. That is, the British should divide the country into India and

Pakistan and leave it as the only solution of its political problem.

This resoultion was passed. The Quaid appointed an Action Committee for this purpose. The session also empowered him to form another committee to submit a report for the economic and social uplift and industrialisation of the coming Pakistan. It was to solve the following other problems also: introduction of free primary education; reform of land system; stabilisation of rent; security of tenure; improvement in the condition of labour and control of money-lending.

I. N. A. :

In 1945, the Allies defeated Germany on all fronts. Japan was also beaten back in the East. An interesting development had taken place on this front. Thousands of Indian soldiers had gone over to Japan aad set up a liberation army, called the Indian National Liberation Army or I. N. A., commanded by Subhas Chander Bose. It operated from Burma and met with a good deal of success in the beginning.

Anyhow, as the war was drawing to an end, the British stood in need of Indian support yet more. It was for two reasons : (1) To give an impression to the outside world that India was fully fighting the war because the British wanted to give it independence

after it ended ; (2) It had to deal with many problems arising after the conclusion of the war.

The British Government made another attempt to get the help of the Indian political parties. Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, released all Congress leaders. Then, in June 1945, he called a political Conference at Simla to discuss the new British Plan with them. Before doing so he made it public. Its main points were : (1) The Viceroy would improve the Executive Council under the then constitution. (2) Only two non-Indians, namely, the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, would continue to be its members. (3) A Conference of party leaders, ex- and the then chief ministers of the provinces would be held to choose members for the Council. It would submit a list of the selected members. (4) Indians would thus get an opportunity to run the Central Government.

The offer was in no way different from the Cripps Plan as the Viceroy wanted to maintain the unity of India.

However, the Congress accepted it, though Gandhi had turned down its previous model, the Cripps Plan. But the League at once saw the trap in it since it was only a temporary arrangement. Besides, the Congress and the Unionists claimed their share of Muslim seats in it. The League wanted a guarantee of

protection of the rights of Muslims against the decision of non-Muslim majority in the Council. For it asserted that it was the only body truly representative and guardian of the Muslims. Its enemies were sure to go against it on the issue of Pakistan. Now it was clear that Pakistan was coming nearer. Therefore the League net-work had to be spread wide.

None could say how long the Congress would remain at the Centre and, with the help of the British, try to undo the work of the League. The Quaid did not let them succeed by his devotion to the ideal of Pakistan, firmness, fearlessness, far-sightedness and statesmanship. The Congress, the Hindus and the Sikhs got very angry with him at the failure of the Simla Conference, called by the Vicerory, as promised by him.

Simla Conference :

Fully authorised, the Quaid had taken the right decision at the Conference. This was borne out by Cripps also. As a Minister of the British Labour Government he had declared that the Government should find a permanent solution to the Indian problem.

General Elections :

Following the failure of the Simla Conference, the Viceroy announced on 21 August, 1945 the holding of

general elections to the Central and Provincial Assemblies. The League was prepared to face this challenge. The Quaid appealed for funds for them in these words, "Give us the silver bullets and we will finish the job".

The response was great. Muslims were ready to make any sacrifice for buying the weapon of constitutional method to achieve Pakistan.

The League, then, was different from that of 1936 when it was a tool of the landlords, businessmen and the limited intelligensia only. The birth of League in 1906, its causes and later developments showed how different it had become since it was founded by Nawab Wiqar-ul-Mulk and Khawaja Samiullah. It had had three important stages of progress—in 1913, in 1916 and in 1935. Now came the biggest of them—in 1945 —under the inspiring leadership of the Quaid. The Bengali Muslims deserved special praise as they were the first to realise and recognise their real enemy, the Hindus, on the whole. For they—the Hindus—were narrow-minded, selfish, advanced and cruel. That is why the Bengali Muslims took the lead in asking for separation through Pakistan. In 1946 also, it was they who corrected the slight slip in the Lahore Resolution which had asked for *two* independent and soverign States at the Delhi annual session. The late Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, from Bengal, had it changed into

"one State". By its devotion to the service of Muslims under the guidance of the Quaid-i-Azam, the League completely won over Maulvi Fazal-ul-Haq—popularly called Sher-i-Bengal—and Suhrawardy to its fold. Thus it became a mass organisation.

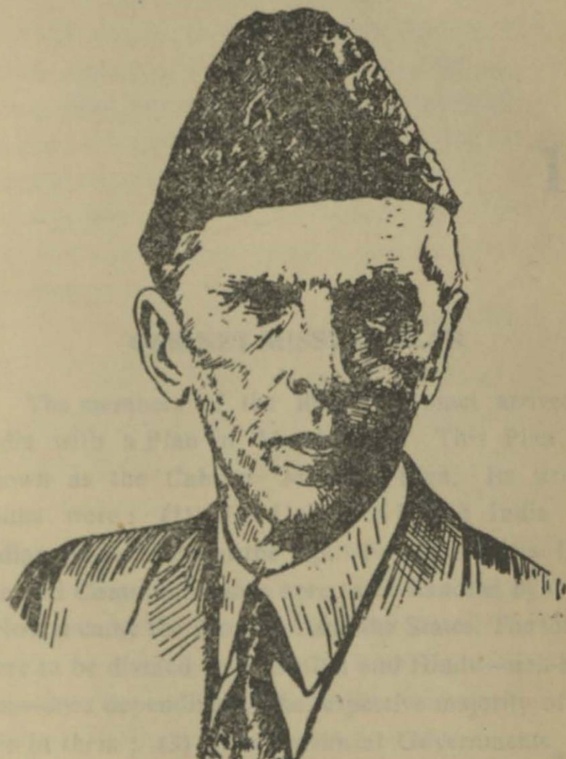
Victory Day :

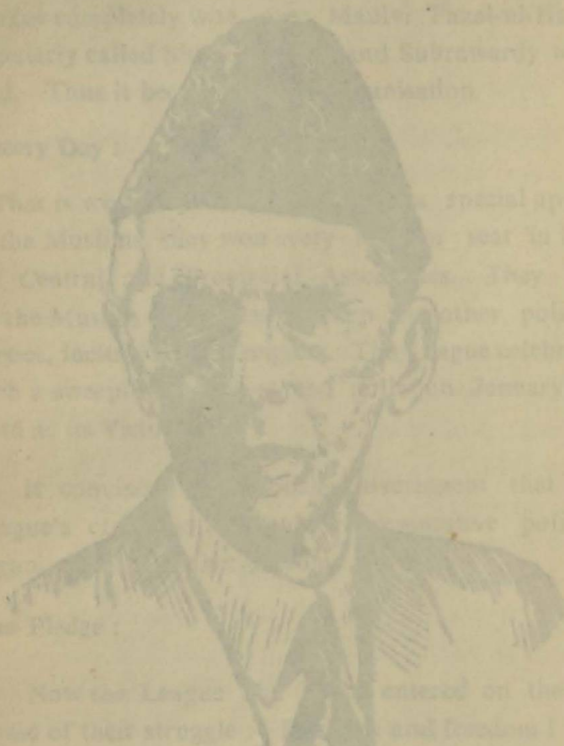
That is why when the Quaid made a special appeal to the Muslims, they won every Muslim seat in both the Central and Provincial Assemblies. They beat all the Muslim candidates put up by other political parties, including the Congress. The League celebrated such a sweeping success at the polls on January 11, 1946 as its Victory Day.

It convinced the British Government that the League's claim as the only representative political organisation of Indian Muslims was right.

The Pledge :

Now the League and India entered on the last phase of their struggle : Pakistan and freedom ! The British Government was soon to send its Cabinet Mission to solve the Indian problem. Confident of winning Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam addressed all the Muslim League candidates to the Assemblies and made them sign a pledge that they would make every sacrifice for the achievement of Pakistan.





19

CABINET MISSION PLAN

The members of the British Cabinet arrived in India with a Plan in March 1946. This Plan was known as the Cabinet Mission Plan. Its striking points were : (1) The Union of British India and Indian States came at the top. Foreign Affairs. Defence and Communications were to be handled by it ; (2) below it came the Provinces and the States. The former were to be divided into Muslim and Hindu—non-Muslim—ones depending on the respective majority of the two in them ; (3) The Provincial Governments were to control all other subjects than those controlled by the Union Government. They could form groups with other Provinces and be free to leave the Union if they so decided. In other words, the Cabinet Plan

accepted the idea of separation or Pakistan in principle.

The second, immediate part of the Plan was concerned with the Centre. Its Government was to be run by the elected representatives of India according to the existing constitution till the new one was framed. To top all, the Mission asked the Congress and the Musilm League to accept it or reject it in toto, not in part.

The Quaid's Yes or No ! :

The Quaid-i-Azam spent a sleepless night thinking about accepting or rejecting it. A wrong decision, as he disclosed later, would have ruined the Muslims of India for ever.

When the day dawned, he had taken a decision. He accepted the Mission's Plan and conveyed it to the Cabinet Mission. He knew it was a risky one, but he was sure that in case the Congress turned it down or so changed it that it became unacceptable to the League, the former would be held responsible for it.

Correct Decision :

Quaid's reading of the Congress mind proved to be correct. Though the Plan was correct, the Congress gave it wrong meanings. It raised unjust and unreas-

onable objections to it. It said that the Constituent Assembly could change or even turn it down. No difference could be made up between the Hindus and the Muslims. The provinces could not be forced to join a certain group and soon. Besides, the Congress laid down certain terms and conditions for joining even the Interim Government.

In this manner the Congress wanted to nip the birth of Pakistnn in the bud.

Nehru's Destructive Speech ;

Now the new Congress President, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, attempted to bury, for his party, the very idea of Pakistan,—on July 7, 1946, when he made the most decisive speech about Pakistan at Bombay. This speech was called the most "fiery and provocative" he had made during the previous forty years, Turning a somersault, he went back on what he said before that the Congress had agreed to enter the Constituent Assembly only and was free to do whatever it liked.

The Last Chance Lost :

Thus, according to Congress historians, it lost the last chance, after 1937, of keeping a free and united India.

The Quaid declared with equal force and irony that he was unwilling to enter the "Spider's Web" of the Congress proposals by accepting them. He also accused the British Government of telling lies because it was out to please the Congress. The latter, in its turn, was out to destroy the League.

Direct action :

Then came the red-letter day in the life of the Indian Muslims as well as the Quaid and the League. For he called for "Direct Action" for getting Pakistan. "This day," he said, "we bid good-bye to constitutional method—We have forged a pistol and are in a position to use it. If you (the Congress) seek peace, we do not war. But if you want war, we will accept it unhesitatingly".

The Government saw and sensed the greatest danger in it. If this threat was carried out, communal riots would break out. The situation was already tense. The Muslim League ministers in the Punjab and Bengal had orders to quit at the League's signal and create hell for the Government.

Yet the Government ignored it.

On 16 August, "Direct Action" day was celebrated by the Muslims of India throughout the country. Scenes of great rejoicings were witnessed on the streets.

The League stand was explained to the people. Cries of protest were raised against the high handedness of the Government. For it had invited only the Congress to form Indian Government at the Centre. Thereupon the most forceful threat was held out by Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, the Chief Minister of Bengal. He announced that he would stop payment of revenue to the Government, declare Bengal completely independent and set up a parallel Government if the Congress was given charge of the Central Government.

"Great Calcutta Killing" :

In reply to it, blood-thirsty Hindus of Bengal, egged on by the Congress, came out armed with deadly weapons. The League had peacefully protested. They came out to silence it. Result : they killed five thousand people, twenty thousand having been only injured in the clash. This was called the "Great Calcutta Killing".

At the other end, the Quaid-i-Azam was threatened with serious consequences by telephone and telegraph for having called for "Direct Action".

More blood was shed at Ahmedabad and Bombay when the Congress got [the reins of Interim Government on September 2, 1946. The Quaid had to raise a special fund to help them.

In Bihar and Noakhali, deadly riots broke out, 300 Muslims having been killed in the former and rendered homeless. The Quaid had to raise a special fund to help them also.

The Viceroy had by-passed the League. But as a Cabinet Mission member revealed, the British wanted to keep India united. Another member of the Mission gave two reasons for it : (1) Pakistan would not have enough natural resources to run it, and (2) East Pakistan could not be defended. Clearly, it was a mischievous statement, as events proved later.

However, the Congress could not do it alone. After a long discussion with the Quaid, the Viceroy succeeded in making the League join the Interim Government. The Congress was already there.

Congress Mischiefs :

Right from the beginning, the Congress tried to blacken the work of League Ministers. Headed by Pandit Nehru as the Prime Minister, the Congress ministers threw their first challenge to their League countre-parts. They allowed a Muslim Leaguer to become Finance Minister thinking that he would fail in this difficult task. But Khan Liquat Ali Khan—the Finance Minister—presented the "poor man's budget". This hit big Hindu businessmen, but was highly praised

by the common man. The Congress felt very unhappy at it because it was under the influence of rich men. However, it was successfully passed.

The two parties in the Government were like two horses pulling a chariot in different directions. The Congress twice threatened to resign. Then, both inside and outside the Provincial Assemblies in which the League was in power, the Congress and other enemies of Pakistan started an agitation against the Pakistan Movement. It was becoming powerful. Master Tara Singh, the leading-most Sikh leader, drew out his sword outside the Punjab Assembly. He threatened to use it against those who wanted Pakistan.

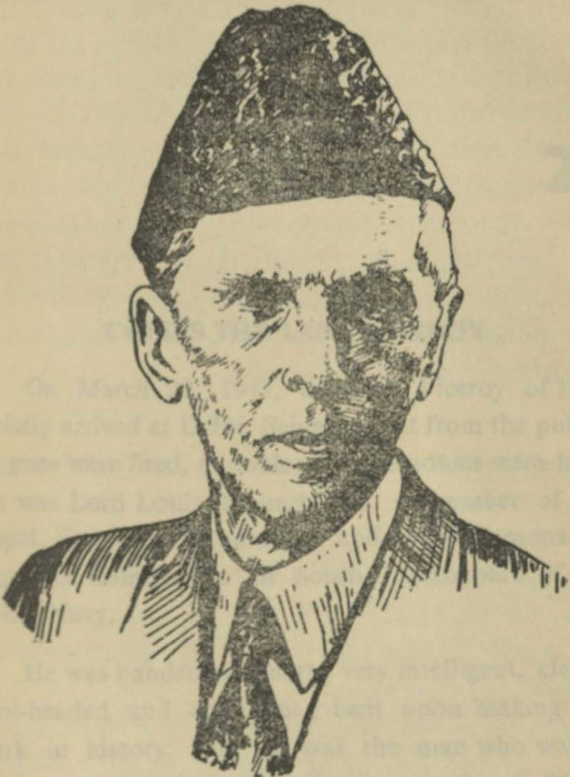
For its part, the British Government was also trying to please the Congress and its other followers. This made the League suspicious about it. No Government could be run with such feelings in its Cabinet. The two could not pull on together. The "iron man" of the Congress, Sardar Patel, also could not help saying that Pakistan was the only solution of the Indian problem. The Quaid-i-Azam, for his part, did not sit quiet. He sent a small delegation to enlighten the outside world on Pakistan.

The Viceroy now came to the definite conclusion that the Congress Minister only wanted to prevent

Pakistan from coming into being on the strength of its great number of Muslim advocates alone. He informed and advised the British Governmeut about it.

Final Call :

Therefore when the Labour Government came into power in England, Atlee, the Prime Minister of England, made the most historic announcement on February 20, 1947. He fixed June 28, 1948 as the date of withdrawal of British troops from India and transfer of power to the authority at the Centre which had been installed there constitutionally. The Government would go ahead with it even if the Congress and the League failed to come to an agreement. It would do so in whatever way it thought best suited to the interests of the Indian people. This was clear acceptance of Pakistan.



20

COMES THE LAST VICEROY

On March 22, 1947, the last Viceroy of India quietly arrived at Delhi. Being a secret from the public, no guns were fired, no welcome ceremonies were held. He was Lord Louis Mountbatten, a member of the Royal Family of England, and world-famous as Supreme Commander of South Asian part of the Allies Navy.

He was handsome, smart ; very intelligent, clever, cool-headed and ambitious ; bent upon making his mark in history. For he was the man who was to hand over power to India. He was a personal friend of Nehru and, as such, pro-Congress. However, the League welcomed him.

"My Decision Goes" :

Mountbatten did not lose time in meeting political leaders. From the very beginning he was given V. P. Menon, a capable Indian administrator, as his political adviser. A Congressite in his heart of hearts, he prejudiced Mountbatten against the Muslim League more and more. Though Mountbatten wanted to take decisions, apparently according to the will of the people, they were always personal. He gave away his mind once about it, proudly saying, "Jinnah can negotiate with me, but me decision goes". That is, he never put up with opposition, baffiing and humiliating those who did not agree with him.

He started off with a desire to introduce the Cripp's Plan to keep India united. But the Quaid opposed it firmly. At one stage, Mountbatten held out a mild threat to him saying that if he did not agree with his Plan, he would hand over power to the Congress. Unafraid as ever of the greatest enemy or power, the Quaid firmly stood his ground in that he was after nothing less than Pakistan. As the country was already passing through bloodshed, civil war was possible if the Viceroy did not soften his attitude then. He appealed to both Mr. Jinnah and Mr Gandhi as well as other leaders to ask the people to keep peace.

Both the Viceroy and the Quaid sized each other in no time. The Viceroy said about him up, "It took most of the time to unfreeze him" after their first meeting. The Quaid, on the other hand, commented after an important meeting with him, "The Viceroy does not understand". In his very second meeting with the Viceroy, Lord Moutbatten, the Quaid told him frankly, "The Congress wants to inherit everything. They would even accept Dominion Status to deprive me of Pakistan". The League's position was now absolutely clear. The Viceroy put forward his own Plan for the partition of India into two Independent Soverign States. Accordingly, they would be allowed to stay in the Commonwealth even after becoming independent.

First Plan :

The Quaid objected to the division of the provinces as against that of India, as planned by Mountbatten. Punjab and Bengal were Muslim majority Provinces. Therefore it was difficult to solve their problem under the Plan. It was demanded by non-League members at a special conference, called by Mountbatten, of seven well-known leaders. There, it was proposed that, along with the division of India, its provinces also be divided. Further, the opinion of the people of the Frontier and Sylhet (in Assam) would be found out by some method. If the political

parties accepted this Plan, a Boundary Commission would be set up to draw up a map of the areas which would decide to join Pakistan and Hindustan, as the case might be.

In order to confirm it, Nehru had to consult the Congress Working Committee, the Quaid-i-Azam, the Council of All-India Muslim League. He would have to go to the "Masters of the people", as he said.

3rd June Plan :

In the light of their talks the Viceroy arrived at an agreement with the British Government and the Indian political parties. This was called '3rd June Plan".

Then three voices went on the air to announce positive end of the talks. Lord Mountbatten had a special arrangement made to have his broadcast on the 3rd June Plan relayed by All India Radio to London and New York. He requested Pandit Nehru and the Quaid-i-Azam to give the happy news to the people one after the other.

After getting the approval of the League Council for the agreement, the Quaid addressed the nation on the All India Radio. Two memorable words which he uttered at the end of his speech were : "Pakistan Zindabad" !

Hurdles :

But many hurdles still lay in the path of Pakistan. The transfer of power was to be made from June to

August 15.

On June 9, when the Quaid-i-Azam was presiding over a very important meeting of the League Council in Delhi to seek its sanction, a large number of Khaksars gathered outside the hotel where it was in progress. Armed with deadly weapons, they intended to storm it and disrupt the meeting but the Quaid rendered them helpless and had them arrested.

Mountbatten still made a clever move to scotch Pakistan at its very birth. For this purpose he wished to become the Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of its Army also, as India had agreed to. Thereby he wished to be the last Governor General and Supreme Commander of the two independent soverign countries. But the Quaid-i-Azam politely refused him as he had seen through his move. The League Council wanted him to become Pakistan's Governor General. Being very honest, he never suspected what Mounbtatten meant by his question "Do you know what it will cost you ?". "Possibly several crores" was the Quaid's reply. Whereas he was thinking in terms of loss of money, the Viceroy was thinking in terms of loss of human lives and property !

Yet another last, anti-Pakistan move was made by the three pillars of the Congress—Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and Patel. They wanted to throw out the League from the Centre and reform the Central

Government. The Quaid threatened that the League respresentatives would resign in such a case.

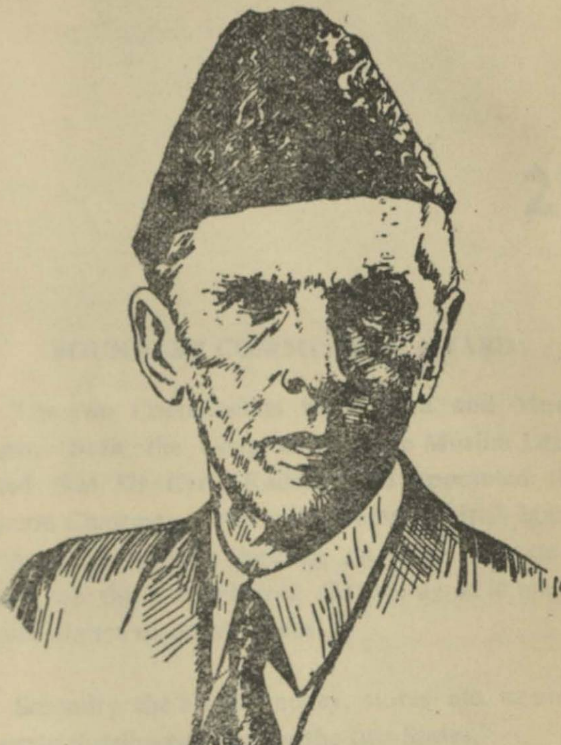
Charged Act :

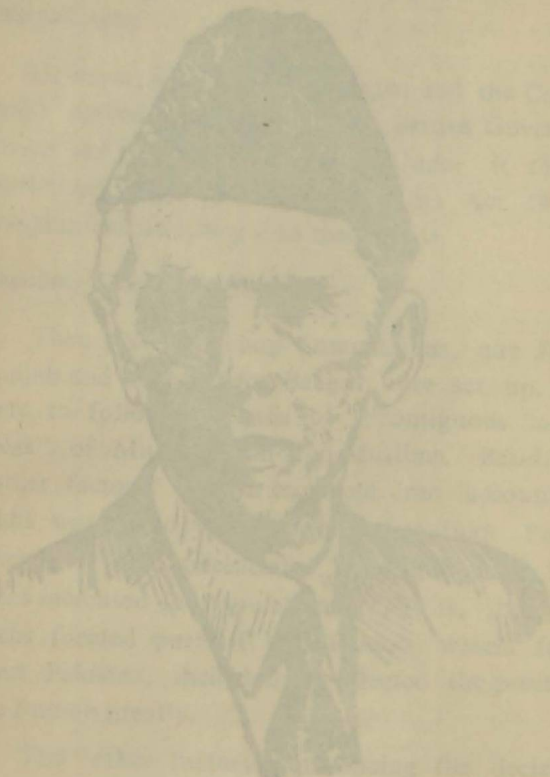
However, when both the League and the Congress finally agreed on Partition, the British Government passed the Independence Bill. Under it the two Dominions were to follow the India Act 1935 by changing and adopting it to their needs.

Boundary Commission :

Then two Boundary Commissions, one for the Punjab and the other for Bengal were set up. They were to follow the basis of "contiguous majority areas" of Muslims and Non-Muslims. Besides this, "other factors" were to be taken into account. As Sikhs wanted to join Bharat rather than Pakistan where they were concentrated, its neighbouring Hindu areas increased in population. That is, though the Sikhs formed part of the Punjab which fell in West Pakistan, their decision affected the position of the Punjab greatly.

The "other factors" influencing the decision of the Boundary Commission were to be decided by the British Government. Even the Quaid-i-Azam never suspected what they would be.





21

BOUNDARY COMMISSION AWARD

The two Commissions had Hindu and Muslim Judges. Both the Congress and the Muslim League agreed that Sir Cyril Radcliffe be appointed their common Chairman. An independent British lawyer, his Award would be binding on them in case the reports of the Commission did not agree in making greater claims to certain areas.

Secondly, the assets, money, stores etc. would be properly distributed between the two States.

Thirdly, the army and its stores and equipment would be proportionately distributed. Till August 15, 1947 when Pakistan and Bharat were to come into being separately, the then English Commander-in-Chief

would act as their Supreme Commander to settle all related problems. For the Army would have to provide protection to the people migrating from one state to the other.

Indian States :

The question of Indian states was peculiar because they were directly under the British Government. Therefore the Quaid said that they had a right not to join either of the two Constituent Assemblies, and forcing the states to do so was illegal. They were absolutely independent. The Viceroy, therefore, issued an order which deprived them of this right for the time being. Some states informed the Quaid that they wanted to join Pakistan, but the Congress prevented them from doing so.

The States Department was set up to deal with the states that were found in Pakistan or Hindustan. Pandit Nehru opposed it lest the Hindu states with Muslim rulers should join Pakistan.

Let this alone, the anti-Pakistan forces—the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha and others—did their utmost to prevent the Muslim majority provinces from voting for Pakistan. Nevertheless, the referendum held in Frontier, the Punjab and Bengal went heavily in favour of Pakistan. But the case of the Punjab was peculiar because of Sikhs.

"Other Factors" :

The Quaid-i-Azam knew full the standard of British justice from his personal experience of legal practice in England. Therefore he never suspected foul play from Radcliffe. However, Mountbatten was afraid that if a wrong Award was given by the Chairman (Radcliffe) of the Boundary Commission, he (the Quaid) would not accept it. Therefore he held a special Press Conference on June 4, 1947. Answering a question there, he replied that in case of difference of opinion in the reports of the Commission, the Chairman's Award would be final and "other factors" would also decide its nature further.

Meantime different rumours were heard as to which areas and cities were going to the two Dominions.

By then the Viceroy also made an announcement that "simple majority" alone would decide the wish of a certain area to join either Pakistan or Hindustan. Nearly a month later, he called a meeting of the parties to the Partition Council. He had them sign an agreement that the Award of the Chairman of the Boundary Commission would be binding on them, whatever its form.

League's Suspicion :

The League naturally get suspicious about the justness of the Award. It was deepened when its anno-

uncement was put off till after 15th August when Pakistan and Hindustan would have come into being as independent, soverign states. In fact, Radcliffe had written the Award and handed it over to Mountbatten by 10th August. Meantime Mountbatten did not allow the date for transfer of power to be shifted later, as requested by League. For many things had to be settled and questions of money, property and other things settled with India.

Betrayals :

Mountbatten kept the Award a closely guarded secret. However, it was learnt from knowledgable circles that Pakistan had been deprived of many areas that had been awarded to it—, a number of *tehsils* like Ferozepur, Zira, Fazilka, Gurdaspur, etc. in the Punjab and some areas in East Bengal. This was due to "other factors", hinted at by Mountbatten earlier. Radcliffe had done so under his orders in order to weaken Pakistan and strengthen Bharat. Mountbatten was also said to have helped India in preventing some Hindu majority states from joining Pakistan though they so desired. Much more, the Muslim majority state of Kashmir came in for great mischief and conspiracy. Three months earlier, Gandhi had visited it. As its Maharaja was a non-Muslim, a Dogra Hindu—, Gandhi stopped him from joining Pakistan, at least temporarily. Mountbatten helped

him in causing a delay in this repect declaring that it would be settled according to the will of the Kashmiris by plebescite later. Till that it would remain a kind of neutral under "stand-still agreement".

This was unjust because the Congress wanted states with Hindu majority to join Bharat at once if their rulers were Hindus. Not otherwise, if a state had a Muslim majority but a Hindu or Sikh ruler. Hyderabad (Deccan) was such a striking case.

Meantime Muslim caravans of refugees, coming from India towards Pakistan, were cruelly killed, looted and their women-folk dishonoured. As a result of it, a chain of revenge started throughout the affected areas where change of population was taking place.

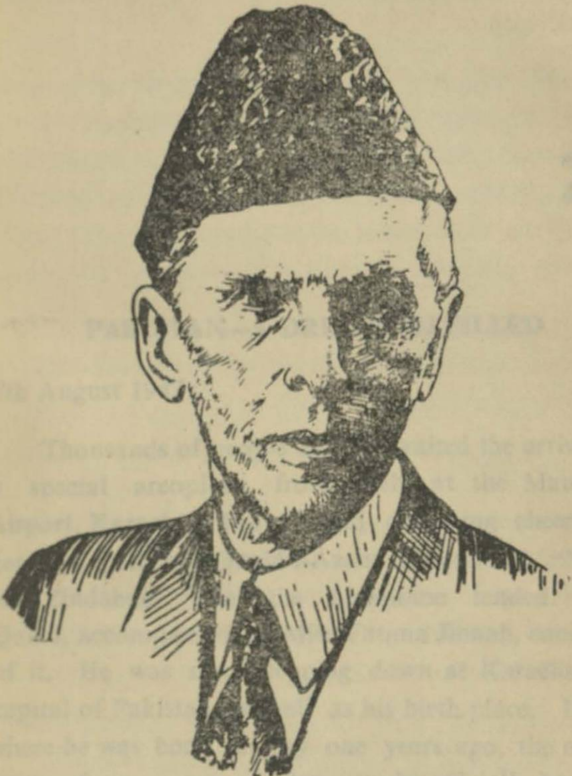
The Quaid-i-Azam was deeply shocked at it. Therefore he appealed for peace to the warring communities and called upon Muslims to bear their sufferings with courage.

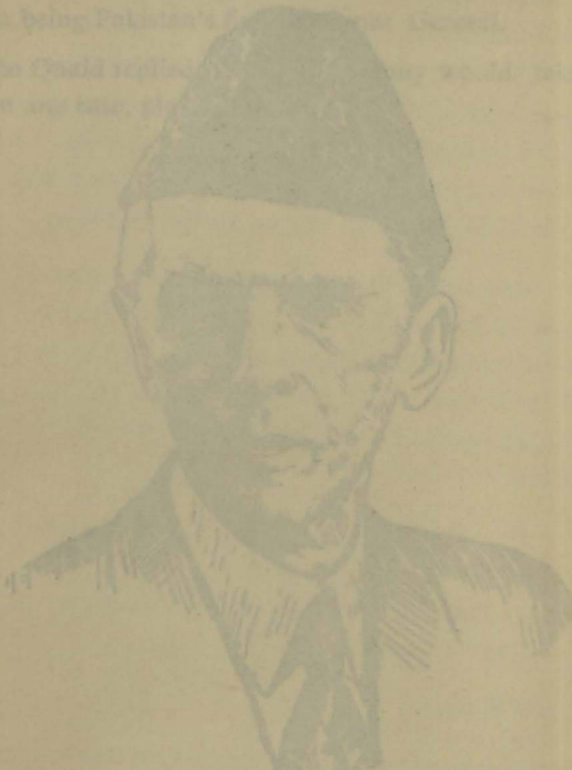
Quaid Warned :

Things got so frightening that on 5th August Lord Mountbatten had a private meeting with the Quaid. He told him on the basis of allegedly secret reports made to him that his enemies had laid a plot to kill him. It was to be carried out on the 14th of August when, accompanied by Lord Mountbatten, he was to

drive to the Constituent Assembly, at Karachi, for transfer of power. The Lord was to do so as the last Viceroy and Governor General of India,—the Quaid-i-Azam being Pakistan's first Governor General.

The Quaid replied that the cermony would take place in any case, plot or no plot !





22

PAKISTAN—A DREAM FULFILLED

7th August 1947 :

Thousands of people keenly awaited the arrival of a special areoplane from Delhi at the Mauripur Airport, Karachi. They raised deafening cheers and hearty slogans of "Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad", "Pakistan Zindabad" when the aeroplane landed. The Quaid, accompanied by Miss Fatima Jinnah, came out of it. He was now stepping down at Karachi—the capital of Pakistan as well as his birth place. It was where he was born seventy one years ago, the nerve-centre of a new state which was to be officially born on 14th August.

13th August : A day before the formal transfer of power to Pakistan came Lord Mountbatten, the

last representative of British rule over India, as its last Viceroy and Governor General.

Safe Return :

14th August : Karachi saw history being made there. Trusting in God's will and unafraid of the alleged conspiracy to kill him, accompanied by Lord and Lady Mountbatten, he drove in state to the building of the Constituent Assemably to take over power. Nothing untoawrd happend on the way.

"Thank God, I have brought you back alive", the Quaid said to Mountbatten when they returned to the Governor General's House.

Problems Ahead :

Now, at the age of 71, the Quaid-i-Azam faced challenging problems of a different nature. Building Pakistan on firm foundations, settlement of refugees who were pouring in by the thousand, strengthening the army and so on.

Fortunately, 60% of the Indian Army consisted of Muslims—all belonging to the martial races of the north-west India. They were to be equipped, and more divisions had to be raised and military stores from India, that had fallen to Pakistan's share, recovered from her. For India had returned her rotten stores. British Officers who wanted to leave had to be replaced.

To top all, the army had to be prepared to meet an attack from India any time. The latter was waiting for proper time for it to destory Pakistan at the very outset.

Then the country required a new State Bank and industry. When the national government, headed by Liquat Ali Khan as the first Prime Minister, came into office, it did not have any office stationery and furniture nor money to pay the staff. However, with the Quaid as the guardian angel, things got going.

Life-Giving Journey :

Then the Quaid undertook a country-wide tour to create confidence in the people, to raise their hopes. In these inspiring words he said during the course of a speech, "Do not be overwhelmed by the enormity of the task. There is many an example in the history of young nations building themselves up by sheer determination and force of character. You are made of sterling material and are second to none,—keep up your morale. Do not be afraid of death. We should face it bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam. Do your duty and have faith in Pakistan. It has come to stay". This was his first public speech he delivered with emotion.

He told the people that acceptance of 3rd June Plan was the only solution of the Hindu-Muslim

problem. Though they had been given a "truncated, moth-eaten" Pakistan, they had accepted it. "Work, Work ! and Work !" was his motto. As such he was driving himself to death !

Inspite of his weak health he attended important public functions and specially addressed public meetings. On August 25, 1947 he said in reply to the address of welcome presented to him by the Karachi Municipal Corporation, "It should be our aim not only to remove want and fear of all types but secure liberty, fraternity and equailty as enjoined by Islam". Such words were golden.

He travelled in a most uncomfortable Dakota, the only type of aeroplane then available in the country, to East Pakistan. There, he not only spoke to civilian and military officers but also addressed public meetings at Dacca and beyond—at Chittagong. For East Pakistan had been made the first target of anti-Pakistan propaganda by India.

The Quaid told its people the difficulties the country was faced with. The Government was alive to them as it was their theirs now. East Pakistan had played a big role in the struggle for Pakistan. They might well have patience and preseverence in that difficult hour in its life.

So also he went to the Frontier to thank its brave people for their role in the struggle for Pakistan.

Ready Guidance :

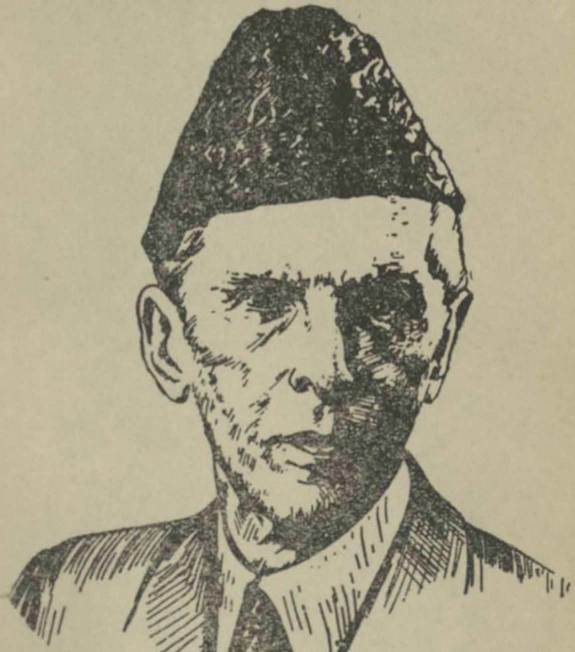
Similarly, he attended to matters of foreign policy. He declared that Pakistan believed in international peace and good-will. It should not side with any particular power or group. Pakistan would always support the Charter of the United Nations, "extend its moral and material" support to the oppressed and suppressed people of the world". Pakistan had to tackle many problems as an undeveloped country.

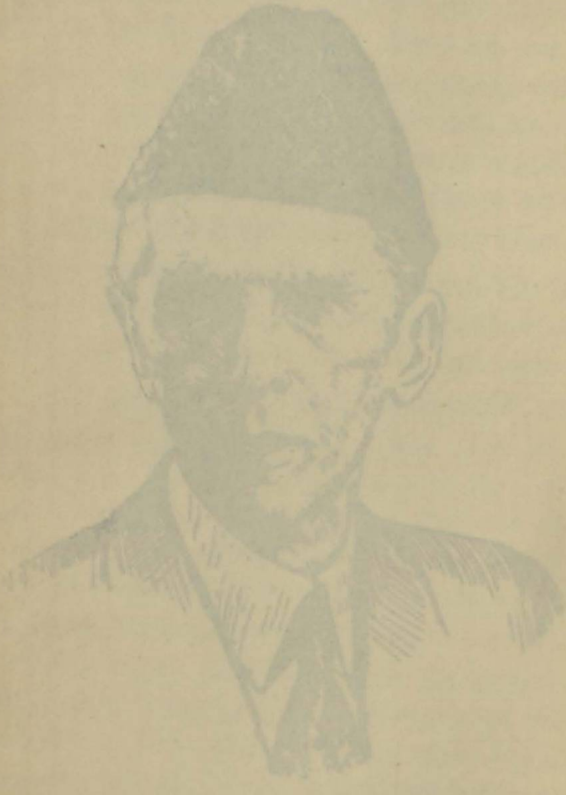
He was ever ready to give his advice and opinion even on comparatively small matters like the design of the nationl flag, selection of colour for the official car, etc. His judgement was valuable in any case.

Ready Guidance

Similarly, he attended to matters of foreign policy. He declared that Pakistan believed in international peace and good-will. It should not side with any particular power or group. Pakistan would always support the Charter of the United Nations, "extend its moral and material support to the oppressed and suppressed people of the world". Pakistan had to tackle many problems as an underdeveloped country.

He was ever ready to give his advice and opinion even on comparatively small matters like the design of the national flag, selection of colour for the official car, etc. His judgement was valuable in any case.





23

FAILING HEALTH AND DEATH

Those close to the Quaid knew that this tower of steel was, in fact, giving way from within ; the Quaid's health was growing from bad to worse.

The last two years of his life told most heavily on his already strained nerves at which he had hinted in the early 40s at a public meeting, also. In appearance, too, he grew much thinner than he was originally. Yet he never stopped working. As the Head of the State he had to deal with a mass of office files. Despite his failing health he worked far into the night. As a result of it he began to suffer from extreme exhaustion, accompanied by temperature.

Visit to Ziarat :

Therefore his doctors advised him complete rest and shifting to a peaceful and healthy place. Ziarat, a hill-resort near Quetta, was thought best suited for it.

So the Quaid-i-Azam went there and stayed at the Residency—the Summer House of former British Residents. It had a beautiful scenery, with flowers and beautiful trees growing all around. Many of these trees were fruit-bearing.

Such a surrounding and the forced rest did good to his health in the beginning.

Monkey Leader :

One day he told a pleasant and meaningful anecdote to his attendant about a monkey's behaviour.

At Simla, he once threw pea-nuts to a large number of monkeys in which it was very rich. He was surprised to find that none of them came forward to take the nuts. He did so in order to enjoy their behaviour. They kept sitting, watching for something. Why ? This question was soon answered when a big, fat monkey climbed down and moved towards the pea-nuts. Then all the monkeys present there suddenly became quiet. The fat monkey was their leader for whom they had shown so much respect and main-

tained so much discipline. That was Quaid's mood—a cheerful and meaningful one—at Ziarat.

His sister, Miss Fatima Jinnah, was always by his side tending and nursing him and seeing to his comforts. She affectionately called him 'Jim'.

Strange Walk :

In contrast to his normal behaviour and mood during the day, he appeared to be strange during the night. For his watchman found him frequently walking up and down his room by himself at the dead of night. May be, it was due to some physical pain that did not allow him to sleep or some problems that haunted him.

Work On :

Even though advised strict rest, he could not help attending to official papers that awaited his final decision. He would sit in the open in the lawn, with a table placed before him, for this purpose. It was only for a few days that, during this visit, he abstained from it in the beginning.

In the morning and evening he would have a regularly walk. But his stay at Ziarat did not last long. For his blood-pressure turned low on account of the height of Ziarat. Under this impression his doctors advised that he be taken down to Quetta.

More medical experts were called in. At Ziarat, none was allowed to see him. M.A. Ispahani, the newly appointed Ambassador of Pakistan in America, was made an exception, as he wished to bid him farewell and inquire after his health before leaving Pakistan. Ispahani was a great pillar of the Muslim League in Bengal. He had been one of its "Three Musketeers", the other two being Nooruddin and Abdur Rehman. They were generally called "Three Tailors of Tooley Street". Ispahani was a loyal and trusted friend of the Quaid and a great servant of the League.

He spent nearly half an hour with the Quaid. As he wrote later, when he took leave of the Quaid, tears welled up in his (the Quaid's) eyes, as also in those of Miss Jinnah who stood by—sobbing. That was the last Ispahani saw of the great leader, Father and Founder of Pakistan.

Quetta :

As the Quaid had grown terribly weak, it took four hours to drive him down to Quetta. A medical check-up of him was made there. It was found that he was suffering from an infection of the lungs.

By now Eid-ul-Fitre had arrived,—on 22nd August, 1948, Pakistan became one year old. On this occasion, the Quaid gave a special message to nation, the last one he wrote in his own hand.

While writing about refugees (Mohajreen), he said, "It is only with united effort that we shall be able to translate the Pakistan of our dreams into reality —We are all passing through perilous times. The drama of power politics that is being staged in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir should serve as an eye-opener to us—the essence of my advice is that every Mussalman should serve Pakistan honestly, sincerely and selflessly".

Pakistan had, by then, been forced by India to take the Kashmir issue to the Security Council. For India was trying to compel its Hindu ruler not to join Pakistan, though Kashmir was a Muslim majority state. It wanted to destroy Pakistan in the very beginning by marching her much bigger and well-equipped army through Kashmir, as it attempted not before long. Therefore the Quaid was particular about being kept informed about its latest position.

Health Worsens :

But the Quaid's health was fast deteriorating. His breathing became difficult. He had to be given oxygen repeatedly. He had become very exhausted and pale. Yet he was, all the time, thinking about many serious problems facing the country. Even in his sleep he was heard mumbling such words as "Kashmir", "Refugees", "Constitution" and "Pak-

istan". He was getting weaker. The height of even Quetta did not suit him. His doctors brought him round to returning to the normal climate of Karachi.

Karachi :

11th September was a black day when he was laid on a stretcher. As he was being taken into his Viking, the air officials stood in a line to gave him a salute. In return he raised and put down his trembling hand.

At 4.15 in the afternoon his Viking landed at the Mauripur airport, after two hours' fiight. It was unlike the historic welcome he had been given by a sea of people the day he arrived from Delhi on the 7th of August the previous year. His arrival had been kept a closely guarded secret. Only his British Military Secretary was in the know of it and had turned up at the airport to receive him.

It was a bad day. There was not a whiff of breeze. This was unusual for Karachi. It was damp. Still worse, hundreds of flies were flying around. When the Quaid was brought out of the aeroplane on a stretcher, they pestered him. He could not even wave his hand to protect himself from them.

His Military Secretary was there with an ambulance. They carried the Quaid into it on a stretcher, Miss Jinnah and his Secretary sat beside him. The rest

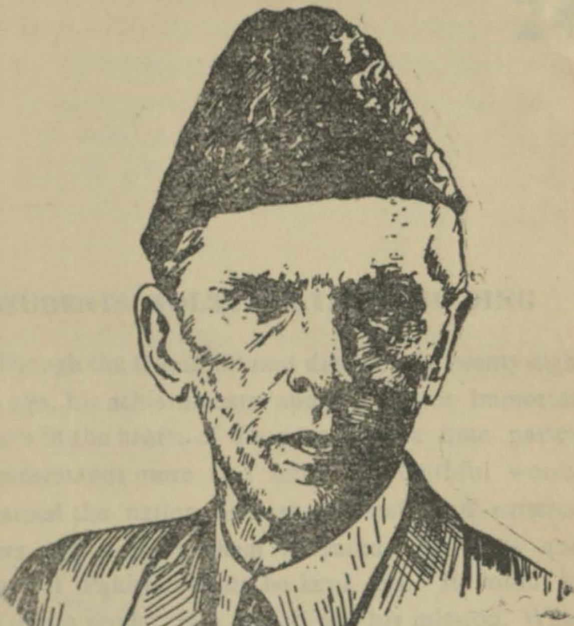
of the party had gone ahead to the Governor General's House to receive him there.

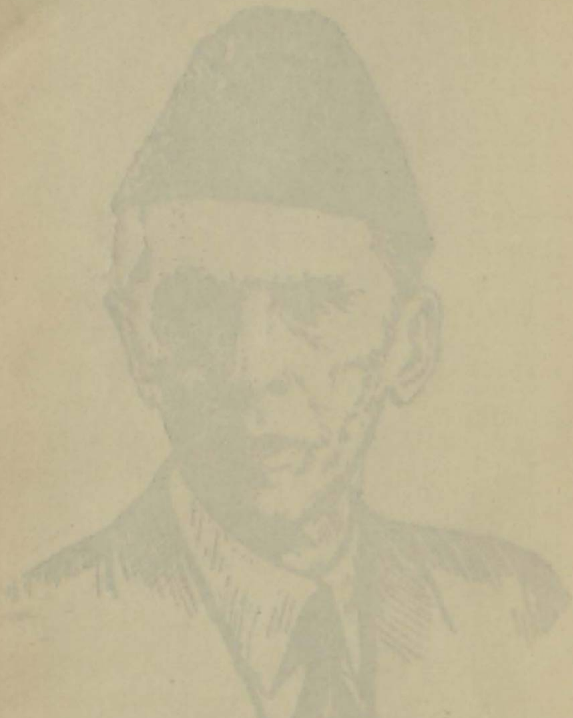
The ambulance broke down after covering a distance of four miles. It could not be started despite best efforts. Another ambulance could not be arranged for immediately nor the Quaid's stretcher be accommodated in a car.

It took the party two hours to reach the Governor General's House after the arrival of the second ambulance.

9.50 p.m. Dr. Ilahi Bux, chief physician of the Quaid, leaned over him at 9. 50 p.m. He respectfully informed him that he was going to give him an injection to give him strength.

"No, I am not.........," the Quaid slightly moved his head and said—his last words. A few minutes after, he breathed his last. Long live Quaid-i-Azam ! He lies buried at Karachi with a befitting tomb over his head.





24

STUDENTS' ROLE IN NATION-BUILDING

Though the Quaid-i-Azam died nearly twenty eight years ago, his achievements and words are immortal. He lives in the hearts of the people. As time passes, one understands more and more his truthful words. He warned the nation against internal and external dangers. By keeping them in mind, the unity and strength of Pakistan could be kept up. It could be made into a model state, which was his mission. What great role students have to play in it—nation-building —he was fully alive to. While addressing them he never lost an opportunity to give them proper advice.

"Many Jinnahs" :

Far back in 1938, he set up All-India Muslim Students Federation whose membership increased from

five to fifty thousand in no time. Its branches were started through out the length and breadth of India and went on increacing from day to day. For students become leaders of tommorrow as they are a very sensitive and energetic class of society. That is why the Quaid-i-Azam once said to a gathering of students "Many Jinnahs will arise from among you".

Students' Duties :

The role Muslim students played in the struggle for and getting of Pakistan is unforgettable. Therefore he thanked the students of the Frontier in this respect in particular after having praised students of East Pakistan before for it. Had the nation acted on his guide-lines, Pakistan would not have lost half of it. Therefore while the elders have to carry out their responsibilities honestly, students must bear in mind the ones on which the Quaid laid great stress.

These were, in his words, "develop a sound sense of discipline, character, initiative and a solid background. You must devote yourself whole-heartedly to your studies, for that is your first obligation to yourselves, your parents and to the state". Before mentioning his other valuable bits of advice, the above needs a bit of explanation in the light of what students have been doing later.

Discipline :

It is a wide term meaning, here, the general behaviour of students, both inside and outside the class-room. They should obey, first, the rules and regulations of their educational institutions—the school or college or University they study in. Then, they should not create noise, cut the classes or come late, abuse each other or fight among themselves, and go on strike without rhyme or reason, and so on.

Character :

Students should not tell lies or use unfair means to get through an examination. They should form good moral habits. They should have the courage to speak and do what is right.

Initiative :

It means the courage to be the first to do something new. They should bring about new changes when old ways of doings turn useless. That is, they should bring about reforms in any field connected with their studies or sports or general activity. Eor example, if they take some time off their summer vacation to educate a few illiterates, they would be greatly serving the nation. So also they should wash and press their own clothes or polish their shoes instead of leaving such work to others.

Solid Background :

Students should understand the subjects of their study thoroughly instead of learning a number of questions by rote to get through the examination. Even if a student gets good marks in this way, it is absolutely useless. When the student is not able to apply his knowledge in real life, he has only wasted his time, energy and money in getting it. For example, if you cannot solve simple questions of arithematic like adding, subtracting, and multiplying but get very high marks in it in your examination, it is useless. It is of no value. Such a student will not be able to prove useful to others also. He will lose his job when he is found incompatent in it. Solid knowledge also means that it should be deep, one should not know it in bits but fully. One should know its basic principles and facts. The Quaid-i-Azam then advised the students to behave responsibly. "Freedom", he said, "does not mean licence. It does not mean that you behave just as you please".

He went on to warn the students against two particular dangers. Provincialism and the question of national language.

Provincialism means giving importance to one's province as against the other. Its follower wants that only his own province should progress or believes that it is superior to others. It, alone, has the right to get

the greatest possible help from the Government. This is taking away the rights of other provinces and keeping them backward or harming them if they have advanced on their own strength.

Therefore the Quaid-i-Azam warned the students that the enemies of Pakistan tried to play off one province against the other. They created misunderstanding between them in order to weaken them.

The second danger against which the Quaid-i-Azam warned the students was of not accepting one national language. One or two national languages at the most mean a sense of deep unity among the people.

One language is the means by which different parts of Pakistan can understand one another better. This is so even if you have two languages, as previously Pakistan had come to have, Urdu and Bengali being these two. However, Urdu language is understood by almost every citizen of Pakistan, by people belonging to each one of its different provinces. It also makes different provinces know and enjoy, use and apply the literature and philosophy of Pakistan as to what is common among them. Otherwise the provinces will neither be able to understand and appreciate nor benefit from each other's poetry, music, thoughts and feelings, that is, culture.

Though the Quaid gave many an advice to students, as to every class of our people, the above-mentioned should be borne in mind by the student community.





25

SOME IMPORTANT DATES OF THE QUAID-I-AZAM'S LIFE

25th December,	1876 :	Born at Karachi.
	1892 :	Married to Emibai.
	,, :	Went to England for studies.
9th August,	1892 :	Heard the speech of Dadabhai in the House of Commons.
	1893 :	Joined Lincoln's Inn.
	1896 :	Returned to India as Barrister-at-Law.
	Early 1900 :	Appointed as Presidency Magistrate.
	Late 1900 :	Set up Independent Practice.
	1906 :	Entered Active Politics.

1906 :	Made an opening speech on the first day of the Congress Session.
1907 :	Won first famous case at Bombay.
November, 1909 :	Elected member of Legislative Council from Bombay.
17th March, 1911 :	Spoke on Wakf Validating Bill in the Legislative Council.
19th March, 1912 :	Spoke on Elementary Education Bill in the Legislative Council.
December 1912 :	Made a demand for Swaraj at the Muslim League Session.
13th April, 1913 :	Spoke on Mussalman Wakf Validating Bill in the Legislative Council.
,, ,, ,, :	Sailed for England with Gokhale.
,, ,, ,, :	Made a strong speech to Indian students in London.
,, ,, ,, :	Agreed to join the Muslim League when approached by Mohammad Ali Jauhar.

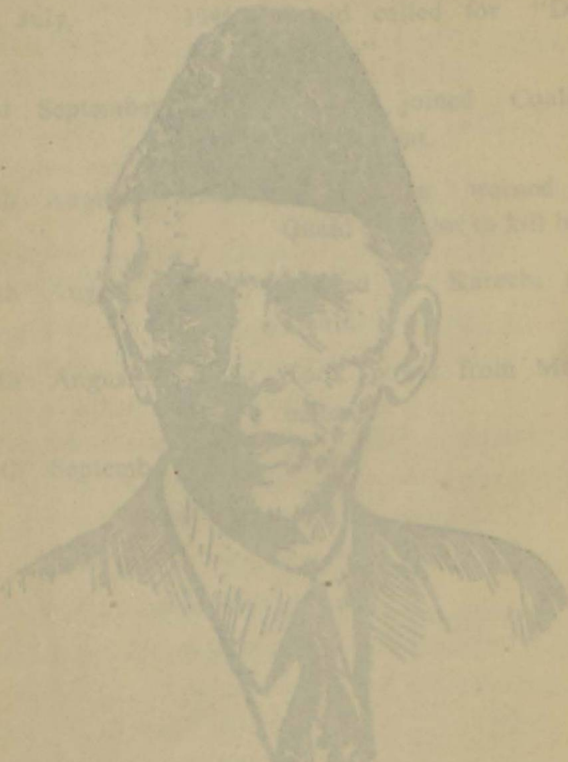
13th February, 1915 :	Addressed Bombay Muslim Students Union.
" " " :	Invited the Muslim League to attend the Congress Session.
16th April, 1916 :	Arranged Joint League and Congress Committee.
January, 1917 :	Joined Home Rule League.
18th February, 1918 :	Spoke on Grant of Full Self-Governing Dominion status to India.
19th April, 1918 :	Made constructive criticism of Montague-Chelmsford Report.
6th March. 1924 :	Indianisation of Army, spoke on.
24th March, 1924 :	All-India Muslim League.
September, 1925 :	Condemmed the Government for being cruel to the Indian people and passing bad laws against them.
18th February, 1925 :	Establishment of a Military College at Dehradun.
8th September, 1925 :	Recommendation of the Reforms Inquiry Committee, spoke on.

11th March,	1926 :	Demand for Executive Council and Reforms, spoke on.
11th March,	1926 :	Simon Commission, led agitation against.
30th December,	1926 :	Reforms and Representation, spoke on.
13th March,	1928 :	Simon Commission Grant, spoke on.
28th March,	1929 :	Resolution containing the Fourteen Points.
19th June,	1929 :	Letter to the Prime Minister of England.
28th November,	1930 :	Round Table Conference.
7th January,	1931 :	Future Constitution and the Muslim Minority.
September,	1931 :	Legal practice in England.
July,	1933 :	Liaqat Ali Khan went to England asking Jinnah to return to India for League's work.
April,	1934 :	Returned to India.
October,	1934 :	Elected independent member of the Legislative Conncil.
February.	1935 :	Declared acceptance of India Act 1935 with reservations.

	1937 :	Called upon the League to participate in General Elections.
June,	1937 :	Allama Iqbal called upon Jinnah to lead the Muslims.
15th October,	1937 :	Condemned the Congress at the Lucknow Session of the Muslim League.
15th October,	1937 :	League came into power in five provinces.
22nd December,	1939 :	Called for Day of Deliverance on the resignation of Congress ministries.
23rd March,	1940 :	"Lahore Resolution" passed at the annual session of the League, held in Lahore.
July	1942 :	Sikandar Hayat Khan dropped from League Council.
26th July,	1943 :	Attempt on life by Khaksar at Bombay.
26th July,	1943 :	"Divide and Quit", gave the call of.
21st August,	1945 :	Simla Conference.
11th January,	1946 :	Direct Action Day.
March,	1946 :	Accepted Cabinet Mission Plan.

July,	1946 :	Nehru rejected. Cabinet Mission Plan.
July,	1946 :	Quaid called for "Direct Action".
21st September,	1946 :	League joined Coalition Government.
5th August,	1946 :	Mountbatten warned the Quaid of a plot to kill him.
7th August,	1946 :	Arrived at Karachi from Dehli.
13th Angust,	1947 :	Took power from Mountbatten.
11th September,	1948 :	Death.





26

GLOSSARY

State :	A semi-independent part of India when the British conquered it and ruled it by means of its own Government. There were more than 600 States in India which had either *Raja or Maharaja* or *Nawab* as their rulers. They had to obey the British Government.
London County Council :	County is a Division in Britain forming its chief unit for government purposes. It is something like a district or province in Pakistan. Council is a body of persons whose business is to give opinion, make suggestions for the all-round improvement of the city. It is like our Municipal

	Committee. So also London has its County Council.
Parliament :	Law-making body in Britain, formed of the House of Commons and the House of Lords ; body like this in another country ; National Assembly in Pakistan.
Hyde Park :	Park is a stretch of public grass land, a kind of public garden. Hyde Park is the most famous of a large number of such parks in London.
Soap-Box oratory :	In England, people who are fond of public speaking have the liberty to say whatever they like, except abusing the king or queen, come to the Hyde-park every Sunday. They place an empty soap-box as a platform in one of its corners. They stand on it and speak their mind from there.
Lincoln's Inn :	Name of a law college of London.

House of Commons :	One of the two law-making bodies of the British Parliament. The second one is called House of Lords.
	Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1898) British statesman, became Prime Minister, Leader of Liberal Party.
Joseph Chamberlain :	A famous British statesman.
Old Vic :	Brief name for Royal Victoria Hall. It was turned into a special theatre for producing Shakespear's plays.
Shakespear William : (1564-1616)	English poet and dramatist of the Elizabethan and early Jacobean period.
Bit part :	Very small role in a play. For example, such an actor may have to play a silent soldier seen on the stage as standing on duty.
C.R. Das :	A famous nationalist and liberal Indian Leader.
Indian Munity :	The British conquered India both by force of arms and conspiracy with one or more than

one Indian ruler. Though orignally they came as traders, they became rulers of India, in this way making the Indian people their subjects or slaves. In 1857 Indian soldiers rebelled against the British. Semi independent Indian princes joined hands with them to throw out the British. Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal King of India, was so in name only. However, he was an Indian belonging to the Mughal family, which had ruled over India for centuries. The rebel princes and the Indian army fought the British, but the later defeated them. Therefore, this rising is called a "mutiny", though some historians call it "war of Independence".

Marhattas : Hindus of Maharashatra. (It extended from the south east of Bombay to Hyderabad Deccan). They were bigoted

	Hindus and good fighters. They rose against Aurangzeb under the leadership of Shivaji and later succeeded in establishing their kingdom.
Legislative Council :	Highest law-making body then in India.
Jinnahs :	This plural name stands for Jinnah family. It is a common expression used in English when you are talking about a certain family. For example, the Azizs, the Patels.
The Agha Khan :	Head of Ismaili sect among Muslims. Khoja is its sub-caste. "The" was the title given to Agha Khan to mark him off from his name sakes. He was one of the great Muslim leaders of India.
Bennerji Surrendra Nath Das C.R.	Both were great Indian leaders of late 19th and early 20th centuries.
Gurus : (Hindu)	Respected senior teacher of teachers.

Sectarian : Belonging to a sect, a small religious group, whose views are slightly different from the chief ones.

Siraj-ud-Daula : He was the last Nawab of Bengal. He was a great patriot and anti-British Indian ruler. He fell a prey to a plot against him due to which he lost the Battle of Plassey, in 1757. He understood the British very well ; none like him followed him to continue his war on the British. So, the British crushed the Muslims of Bengal, where the former first came into power, in order that they might not rise again.

Tilak Bal Gangadhar : A very famous Hindu leader of the late 80s and beginning of 20th centry ; died in 1920. He was a Hindu at heart, and anti-British and anti-Muslim, though he was called a nationalist.

Dominion Status : Having the position of a British semi-independent colony.

Status-quo : Unchanged position, same position as before.

Bureaucracy : Government controlled by official experts. If the government is weak, not run by people's representatives, then it is its official class which rules the country ; it lays down government policy and takes every major decision.

Red-letter day : A day marked by important event.

Sarojini Naidu Mrs (1896—97) : One of the most famous Indian woman leaders. She studied for sometime at Cambridge ; was a very intelligent and patriotic woman ; and a remarkable poet. She was one of the close friends of Jinnah and was the first Indian to praise him as an "Ambassador of Indian unity" in her book of the same name.

Bannerji Surrendranath : (Died 1925)	After rising to a very high position in government service, he was removed from it for his anti-British feelings. He turned to teaching and journalism and became fearless editor of a Bengali paper. He was a great Indian leader and one of the greatest figures of Bengal for which he did a lot ; became a fiery nationalist later.
Montague Edwin S :	Secretary of state for India (1917).
Secretary of state for India or Indian Secretary :	A minister of the British Government. This official was in charge of Indian affairs. He was superior to the Viceroy and Governor General. He was always a politician who had special knowledge of Indian affairs.
Desai Bhulbhai :	A leading Indian political member of the Congress, lawyer, and member of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Besant, Dr. Anne :	Wife of an English priest. She came to India in 1893 ; joined the Congress when it was started by Mr. Hume, a nationalist. She founded the Home Rule (self-government) League of which Jinnah became President later.
Three strings to political bow :	"More than three" means for achieving one's purpose. The original idiom is "to have two bows to one's string". That is, Jinnah being a member of three political bodies (simultaneously), namely, the Muslim League, the Congress, and the Home Rule League. He would make use af all these to create unity between Hindus and Muslims in his struggle for getting Swaraj.
Chelmsford, Lord :	Viceroy of India (1916-21).
Allies :	All the countries that were with England and fought against Hitler in World War II as members of their group were called Allies.

Caliph of Turkey :	The king of Turkey was also the spiritual head of the Muslims the world over. He was the Caliph or Deputy of God on earth. He was empowered, as such, to guide the Muslim world and also decide all of its religious problems.
Malabar coast :	South eastern coast of India extending almost from Bombay to Madras.
Shuddhi :	Purification or converting from one religion to another. This term is specially used by the Hindus in this respect.
Sanghtan :	A movement started by the Hindus to remove their internal, religious diflerences so as to strengthen Hinduism.
Mohsin-ul-Mulk :	A famous Indian Muslim Leader ; played a big role in setting up the Aligarh Univesity.
Hindu Mahasabha :	It was a politico-religious Hindu organisation, but was based on hatred of Hindus against Islam. It was founded

by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who was so narrow-minded that he prepared his own meals when he went to England to take part in the Round Table Conference. He also took along with him water of the Ganges to drink.

Arya Samaj: It was a purely Hindu organisation, having Swami Shardhanand as one of its leading leaders. It worked up Hindu hatred of Islam, and carried on this policy in Indian politics also. It caused one of the biggest Hindu-Muslim riots in India in 1925. Swami Shardhanand was killed by a Muslim for having insulted the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him).

Crusadar's way: The religious wars between the Turks, Saracens and Christians for recovery of the Holy Land, and so on. It was marked by great enthusiasm. A person showing it in fighting any cause is called a crusader.

Moti Lal Nehru, Pandit :	A leading lawyer and influential member of the Congress ; father of Jawahar Lal Nehru. The Nehrus migrated from Kashmir to Allahabad, India.
Weightage :	Adding more weight to. Here it means giving some more seats to Muslims.
Azad Abdul Kalam :	A great religious scholar, stylist, and speaker of Urdu India has ever had ; he was a nationalist Muslim. He left the League to join the Congress to which he stuck till his death. He was twice elected President of the Congress.
Ajmal Khan Hakim :	Prehaps the greatest of *hakims* of India during the 20th century. He was a poet also ; an influential member of the Congress which elected him its President also.
Ansari Dr :	A capable Muslim surgeon of Dehli. He was an influential Congress leader.
Arabian Imperialism :	The Arab's desire to conquer and rule more and more coun-

tries with a view to spreading Islam. It gave rise to the dream of Pan-Islamism in the narrow sense.

Scheduled Class : The lowest caste of the four among Hindus. Their order is as follows: Brahmin, Kashatriya, Vesh, Sudra. The Sudras were so much looked down upon by all the other three that they did not allow them to touch them or their things. It is the sweeper class.

Mc Donaled, Ramsay : A member of the Liberal Party of England ; member of British Parliament, who later became Prime Minister of England.

Round Table Conference : A big round table at which responsible members of the British government and Indian leaders of every shade of opinion were to sit to discuss their common problems. Now it does not necessarily mean that the table should be round, but simply sitting together of the authorities and parties to a dispute in order to solve it.

Shah Nawaz Begum :	Daughter of Sir Mohammad Shafi, a leading lawyer of the Punjab. He was a highly respected Muslim leader, rose to a very high position in the government. Begum Shah Nawaz is his famous daughter. She was a good speaker, took active part in politics ; for many years represented Muslim women of the Punjab in the Legislative Council.
Communal representation :	Different communities or religious groups having separate entity or existance would be given the right to elect their representatives to voice their feelings and take part in governing a province or country, as the case might be.
Chaudry, Abdul Matin :	A famous Muslim League leader from Assam for whose sincerity the Quaid had great regard.
Fast unto death :	Keeping a fast till death, not caring that one will die for not drinking or eating anything. It was the means

Gandhi used to make his demands accepted by the British Government. It was a part of his non-voilent struggle in which one harmed oneself instead of the enemy.

Liaqat Ali Khan Nawabzada : Born in 1896 near Pani Pat ; educated at Aligrah and Oxford ; called to the Bar in 1922. He was younger than Jinnah by twenty years. Entered active politics soon after return from England by being elected member of Legislative Assembly of the United Provinces. He was a leading and influential member of the All India Muslim League, and persuaded Jinnah, in 1933, to return to India to guide the Muslims in their most difficult days. He became the first Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Sikandar Hayat Khan ; Sir. A leading Musilm politician and influential leader of the Punjab ; was given very big posts by the government, becoming Chief Minister of

the Punjab and a member of War Council, etc. He joined the League, but was never fully loyal to it.

Birkenhead : A very famous British speaker, politician, and member of Parliament in mid 80s.

Manifesty : Clearly.

Kheri Brothers : Jabbar and Sattar Kheri, generally known as Kheri Brothers, were great Muslim patriots and anti-British. They put forward, at Stockhom, in 1917 a solution for the freedom of India from foreign rule. They went there as two of the four Indian delegates to the Socialist Internatianal. They maintained that by creating a federation of Indian provinces the country could be peacefully managed by its own people.
Sattar Kheri returned to India and was appointed Prof. of German and French at Aligarh University. He was arrested and put in the same

Jail where Pandit Nehru and other Indian leaders had been held as prisoners. He died in September 1945.

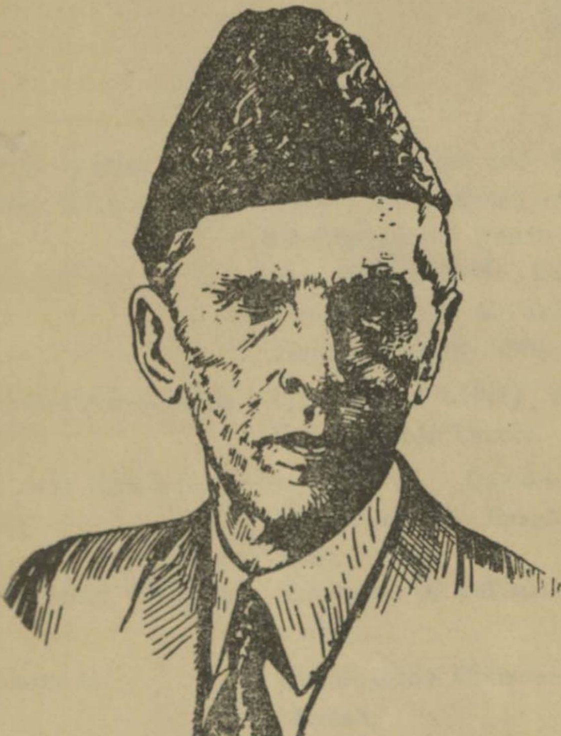
The gems of Pakistan were found in the plan of these brothers.

Rehmat Ali Chaudry : Hailing from Punjab, he studied at Cambridge. He was the first person who used the word "Pakistan", gave details of the areas it would comprise and firmly believed that it was the only solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem. In his historic pamphlet, named "Now or Never" published in 1933, he gave its outline. In it he clearly stated his views. It was distributed by him and his friends at the First Round Table Conference, but none took it seriously. He was the originator of the word "Pakistan". He came to Pakistan after it came into being but had to return heavy-hearted to London where he died.

G.M. Saiyad :	A narrow-minded Sindhi politician. He was popular to some extent ; succeeded in becoming Chief Minister of Sind.
Rajagopalacharia Sri :	A very capable and broad-minded Hindu leader from South India ; for long remained in the Congress. He was the first Hindu leader to be convinced that Pakistan was the only solution of India's political problems ; was rightly honoured by being appointed India's first President. He had always been a fearless critic of the Congress ; and was the oldest Indian statesman of his times.
Sirajgung :	An important place in the then East Bengal.
Subhash Chandra Bose :	After resigning from Indian Civil Sercvice (ICS) he joined the Congress. Being an extremist, he left it and formed his Forward Block. He was younger brother of Sarat

	Chandra Bose, a staunch Congressite. Subhash was arrested for anti-British activities, disappeared from the country mysteriously and set up the I.N.A with the help of Japan. This army fought the British in order to liberate India. He was killed in an air-carsh.
Suez canal	Runs through Egypt, joining the Mediteranean to the Red Sea, providing a short sea-route from Europe to the East.
Suhrawardy Hussain Shahid :	Belonged to the famous Suhrawardy family of Calcutta ; educated at Oxford ; did his Bar from London. An outstanding lawyer, public speaker, and leader ; worked hard for the Muslim League after early differences ; migrated to Pakistan and became its Prime Minister. He believed in the unity of East and West Pakistan. To this end he helped creation of One Unit ; died in late 60s.

Khaksars :	Though they wanted to serve the people only by manual work and working like soldiers, they were against the British, and also against the League. especially regarding its demand for Pakistan.
Dogra :	Belonging to hills.
Residency :	House of political resident.
President :	British political rerpresentative stationed in the country over which the British had some control. Quetta region was such an area during British rule. The Resident dealt with semi-independent tribal areas.
Three Musketeers :	Three heroes of the famous French novel by Alexandra Durnas. They helped and fought for the king and others who were in distress.



27

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Afzal, Mohammad Rafiq (Ed.) : Selected Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah 1911-34 and 1947-48. Lahore, Research Society of Pakistan, Punjab University, 1966.

Ahmad Jamil-ud-Din (Ed.) Speeches and writing of Mr Jinnah (2 vols) Lahore.

Ahmad Rizwan (Ed.) : Sayings of Quaid-i-Azam Mohmmad Ali Jinnah (Karachi).

Ali Mohd, Choudary : Emergence of Pakistan (Columbia).

Allana G. : Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

Azad Abul Kalam : India Wins Freedorm (Bombay).

Aziz Abdul : Discovery of Pakistan.

Aziz K.K. : Making of Pakistan (London).

Bolitho Hector	:	Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan (London).
Chowdary Nirad	:	Continent of Circe (London).
Hamid Abdul	:	Muslim Separatism (Lahore, London).
Iian Stephen	:	Pakistan (London)
Isphahani M.A.	:	Quaid-i-Azam : as I Knew Him.
Jinnah, Mohammad Ali	:	Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah (Lahore).
Johnson Campbell	:	Mission with Mountbatten (London).
Lateef Abdul	:	The Great Leader (Lahore).
Nicholas Beverly	:	Verdict on India (Bombay)
Peerzada Sharif-ud-Din (Ed)	:	Documents on Pakistan (2 vols) Karachi.
,, ,,	:	Speeches of M.A. Jinnah (2 vols), Karachi.
Shahid Muhammad Hanif (Ed)	:	Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (Lahore).
,, ,,	:	Tributes to Quaid-i-Azam (Lahore).
Percival Spear (Ed.)	:	History of India (Vol 2), London.
اعجاز احمد	:	ھمارے قائد اعظم
محمد حنیف شاھد	:	پنجاب کی کہانی قائداعظم کی زبانی
Chowdary Khaliquz-zaman	:	Pathways to Pakistan (Karachi).

INDEX

D

E

F

G

H

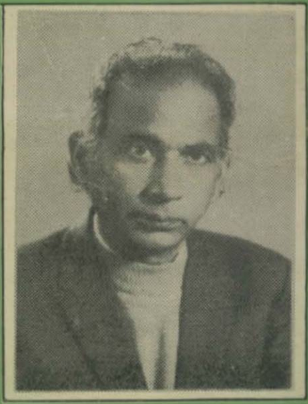
I

J

K

L

M



Ahmad Saeed was born in 1918 at Amritsar. He was educated at the Hindu Sabha College, Amritsar and Forman Christian College, Lahore taking his M.A. (Psychology) and M.A. (English) from the Punjab University. In 1947 he took to teaching at the Dyal Singh College (later nationalized) Lahore, from where he retired as Prof. of English. He writes both in English and Urdu. Besides being a free-lance journalist in English, he has edited some weeklies and monthlies in this language in which he has also written and published the following short biographies:
Tipu Sultan, Abdur Rehman I, Suleiman the Magnificient, Sher Shah Suri, and Saints and Sinners (biographical Sketches). In Urdu, he has published three novels: Dagh Dagh Ujala, Kirnou Ke Shikari, Shikasta Aine, Insan us ka Ghora aur Khuda (short stories) of which another two volumes are ready for publication. Written a number of radio plays, film stories and scripts, three stage plays, and a few for T.V, Ghulghala (humerous articles).